

POST-WAR BRISTOL 1945-1965

Twenty years that changed the city



**Bristol Branch
of the
Historical Association**

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THE BRISTOL BRANCH OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
LOCAL HISTORY PAMPHLETS

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The Historical Association is a national body which seeks to encourage interest in all forms of history. Further details about membership and its activities can be obtained from the Secretary, The Historical Association, 59A Kennington Park Road, London, SE11 4JH.

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Cover Illustration: *The Centre from the C.W.S. Building (Narrow Quay) on Saturday 13 April 1946. (Bristol Record Office 39735/361)*

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*St Michael's Hill in the 1950s. Rehabilitation was still some years off.
(Photo courtesy of Bristol United Press archives)*

Introduction

This volume is Number 100 in the Bristol Local History Pamphlets series. To celebrate reaching the century, it was decided to produce a small book dealing with the history of Bristol in the immediate post-war period, about which little has been written. This book does not set out to be a complete history of that complex and important time. In the tradition of this series, individual authors have brought their specialist knowledge and understanding to bear on particular aspects of the period, but it is hoped that this book may provide a foundation upon which others can build.

The series was originally inspired by a visit by the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association to Monmouth in 1959, where the Museum had produced several modest booklets on various aspects of local history. There were so many different topics of local history in Bristol that it was impossible to contain them in a single book and so it was decided to produce a series of pamphlets.

Many of these topics had been studied by scholars whose work had appeared in learned journals which were not easily available to the public. The Branch Committee decided to launch the project and enough money was raised by subscriptions from members together with a grant from the Education Committee of Bristol City Council.

The Branch was fortunate in obtaining the services of Patrick McGrath as the Editor of the series. Not only did he find the authors but he insisted on high standards of scholarship.

The first pamphlet, *The Bristol Hotwell*, appeared in 1960, costing two shillings (1000 copies were printed at the cost of £35). While some sceptics prophesied that the series would not survive, it was never short of authors, and firms and institutions were willing to make grants for particular volumes. None of the authors was paid, being only too happy to appear in the series. Over the years, 68 authors have contributed and some of the titles have been reprinted, so great has been the demand.

The Bristol Record Office has provided continual assistance. In the early days some titles were researched by members of the University of Bristol Extra-Mural class which met regularly at the Records Office under the direction of Miss Elizabeth Ralph and Patrick McGrath and these were published in the series. Interest in the study of local history has increased in recent years and many mature students writing dissertations are happy to see them published as a pamphlet.

Professor McGrath continued as Editor until his death in 1991 when Peter Harris, his deputy, took over the post. He has been assisted by an Editorial Board which includes Joseph Bettey, Norma Knight and David Large. Recent volumes have benefitted from the assistance and expertise of the printers, Malago Press and Print Services.

Our thanks are also due to the authors of this volume which has not been easy to research and which has led them into many intriguing areas. Normal publications will resume shortly with the publication of No. 101.

*Peter Harris,
General Editor*

Bristol Historical Association Pamphlet Series

This remarkable series of short studies of so many aspects of Bristol's history would not have succeeded without the dedicated work of Peter Harris. From the beginning of the series in 1960 he served as Assistant General Editor and in 1991 he took over from Patrick McGrath as General Editor. His deep knowledge of Bristol history and his suggestions of possible topics and authors have been invaluable. Above all, his enthusiasm for the series and skill in marketing the pamphlets have been crucial to their continued popularity. Without his work in persuading booksellers and shops to offer the pamphlets for sale, and his persistence in finding outlets for each new pamphlet, the continuing sales and resulting income would not have been maintained. In addition, he has supervised the printing work, carefully husbanded the finances, and provided suggestions on text and illustrations. This has ensured that each pamphlet was attractively presented. In these and many other ways, including the concept and editing of this book, his work for the series has been a major factor in its success. It is right that his contribution should be recognised in this volume.

Joseph Bettey Norma Knight David Large



A typical scene of dockers man-handling cargoes in the traditional way which could be seen anywhere in the Port of Bristol throughout the 1950s and 60s. Softwood timber continued to arrive as sawn lengths of loose planking and grain and similar shipped cargo in jute sacks needed to be individually weighed ('bushelled') and laboriously loaded in railway wagons for transport elsewhere. The initials 'BD' (later replaced by 'PBA') stencilled on the railway wagons identified the trucks as one of the several thousand 'common user' vehicles mostly based at Avonmouth docks that had been obtained second-hand from main-line railway companies and remained the primary means of shifting cargo between warehouses and ships until the closure of the ports railway system in the mid-1970s.



College Green in the 1950s. Then, as now, office workers took advantage of the lunch-time sun. (Photo courtesy of Bristol United Press archives)

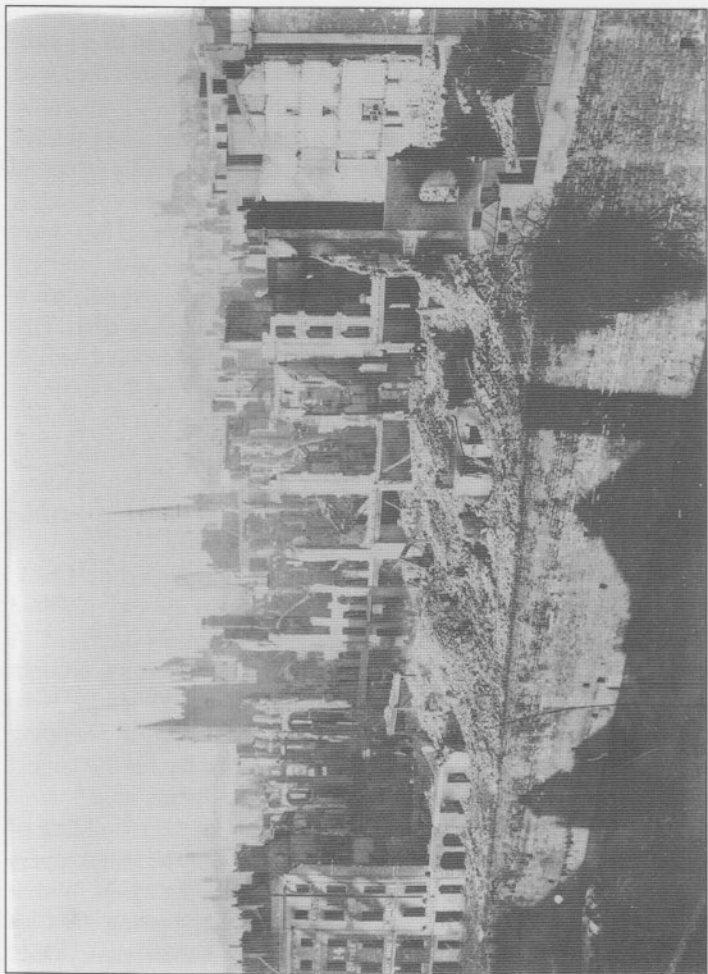
The Origins of the Broadmead Shopping Centre

MIKE JENNER

Whenever Bristol's planning is mentioned, Broadmead is usually the first example to be quoted, always with derision, and always linked with the word failure. It certainly can't be called a success, but on an objective examination it is hard to see why it should have been singled out over the decades for such unanimous execration. The 1950s produced much more damaging planning, particularly the huge, single class, single age-group housing estates on the periphery of the city. They have generated social problems which make finding a place to park your car in Broadmead seem trivial. Even Broadmead's derided architecture is cheerful and decent when compared with, say, the 1970s BRI. This universal condemnation has been accompanied by widespread beliefs about who and what was responsible for the failure – that the move to Broadmead was a disastrous and avoidable mistake, and that the leading villain was the philistine City Valuer who bullied the civilised City Architect. The repetition of these and other items of folklore without properly questioning them – of which I have been as guilty as anyone else – deserve proper examination. What really happened?

Before the war Bristol's main shopping area was centred on Castle and Wine Streets. On the night of 24 November 1940 the city suffered its first devastating blitz, and the shopping area was hugely damaged. A further raid a few weeks later, on 3 January, followed by others, brought nearly total destruction. Throughout the city over 600 shops were destroyed or ceased trading, causing a 60% reduction of shopping frontage, from 11,607 to 4,640 feet¹ (3538 to 1414m). By far the largest concentration of losses was in the Castle and Wine Streets area.

What happened then was what happened to prevent the rebuilding of London to an overall plan after the Great Fire in 1666: the shopkeepers demanded to get back onto their old sites to begin trading again. Within days of the first raid shopkeepers were individually badgering the City Engineer to be allowed to erect temporary shops on their sites.² Only three weeks after the second raid, when many of the roads were still closed by rubble and bomb craters, they collectively petitioned the Planning and Public Works Committee to be allowed to erect temporary premises, or at least to carry out repairs where that was possible.³ Whether the City Engineer or anybody on the Committee were aware of the 1666 precedent is unknown, but they held back. With the inestimable



The back of Bridge Street on the day after the 24 November 1940 raid. The second equally devastating raid on the area was to come 40 days later. © Winstone Archive

advantage of hindsight it is obvious that temporary permissions should have been given without delay. They were not, so the planners got off to a bad start with the traders, beginning an antagonism which was to last for decades.

The traders were not to know that the planners were at a complete loss. They had no plans for the shopping area, and until then had had no reason to make any. At that time they were town planners in a rather limited sense, certainly they were not urban designers. Apart from the granting or refusing of permission for new buildings (the City Architect after his position was created in 1937 was responsible for the control of elevations), they were mostly occupied in designing new roads and planning the widening of existing ones. It was this latter function which caused the immediate trouble. Central Bristol was a medieval city with a tangle of narrow streets. It seemed perfectly natural to the City Engineer, and at that time to almost everybody else, that it was the purpose of town planning to sort out the tangle and widen the streets.* The technique of widening an existing street was to lay down for it what were called building lines. These required that the fronts of any new buildings should be set back a few metres onto the new line. At street junctions, where building lines intersected, that could mean the obliteration of entire building sites. The planners had not yet got around to proposing building lines for the Castle Street and Wine Street area and didn't want to do anything which might conflict with them when they did.⁴ They might even want to plan a layout of new roads altogether. Their fear was that once allowed back onto their old sites the traders, like their predecessors in 1666 London, would never be moved off them again. So the shopkeepers had to wait. It seemed that the City Council was putting planning before people, or to be more fair, the long term needs of the people as a whole, before the short term needs of particular people who had already suffered very severely. Today, however, it is easily forgotten that the City Engineer and his staff must have been desperately overworked in these months, merely to keep the city working. They had to clear the streets; repair the bridges; patch the sewers, water and gas mains; and deal with a thousand other urgent and usually tragic emergencies. Thinking about the future was a luxury which must often have had to wait. The Chief Planning Officer of the Ministry of Health warned the Planning Committee that strict control might lead to development in adjoining areas, 'which would produce undesirable features'⁵ but some members of the Committee thought that would be no

* For example a letter to the *Evening Post* in September 1941 said 'the people of Bristol must insist that the narrow and dangerous streets of pre-war days be not allowed again. We do not want streets that look like an oriental bazaar.' EP 5.9.41.

bad thing. They said they 'were in favour of the policy of dispersing the shopping centres in the City ... rather than that there should be one large main shopping centre as formerly'⁶ But they came to no conclusions and the furious shopkeepers had to wait until they did.

By the following March, 1941, the planners had worked out building lines for Castle Street,⁷ and soon afterwards for the other streets as well, and were at last issuing temporary permissions with a proviso binding their recipients to conform to any later provisions. This got the traders out of their hair for the time being, but it was not a plan. The result was that others in the city began to agitate for one, particularly the Chamber of Commerce in alliance with the Bristol Society of Architects.⁸ The City Engineer resisted this, surely correctly, because, as he said, further bombing could transform the situation very radically.

This uncertain state of affairs lasted until October 1943. Suddenly everything was transformed. The Planning Committee⁹ were told that the Multiple Traders' Federation had suggested 'that the Castle and Wine Street areas should be planned as a civic site, i.e. an open space with perhaps a conference hall or other buildings of this character, and that the shopping centre originally in this area should be transferred to the north, i.e. in the Broadmead and Lower Union Street area.'¹⁰ The City Engineer's initial reaction to this lateral thinking is unrecorded, but the City Valuer, an officer who would have an increasingly decisive influence on events, gave it a cautious welcome, saying that 'at present there would appear to be no reason why it should not be regarded as an economic proposition.' The idea was clever. The Broadmead area was substantially bigger than the old one, it was flat, and it contained streets of tatty old buildings, some of which had been destroyed or damaged by bombing, and few of which were considered by many people at that time to have any value. Equally clever was the suggestion that the old site should become an open space. Bristolians were then, and have remained ever since, suckers for any plan which promises some grass and trees, in this case decorated with a splendid civic building or two. Usually it is left to unpopular people such as the City Valuer to point out that open spaces generate costs and not income, but in this case the Valuer realised that the new site could be purchased relatively cheaply and would thereafter be a much richer goldmine than the obsolete old one. He must also have guessed that the councillors would happily discuss for decades what sort of civic building was right for the site and what priority they should give to allocating the money to build it. He might also have suspected - rightly - that the money would never be allocated.

At their next meeting the Planning Committee, jolted into thinking strategically, asked the City Engineer to examine three alternatives for

the shopping area: to redevelop the old site; move to heavily bombed Victoria Street; or move to Broadmead which had been relatively lightly bombed.¹¹ There is no evidence that the planners spent much time thinking about the first two, but they began detailed work on a plan for Broadmead. It solved all the problems. Five years later, in 1948, a memorandum¹² written by the chief officers explained to new members of the Planning Committee why. 'The obvious course would have been to replan the shopping centre on the old site, but on any reasoned estimate of the land required, whether by taking into account claims for sites by pre-war occupiers, or by making comparisons with shopping centres in other cities, the area of Wine Street/Castle Street was much too small. The natural thing would have been to extend the area so as to bring it up to the size required, but the peculiar configuration of the ground makes this extremely difficult. There is a possibility of extension along Union Street, which had begun to develop before the war, and there is a possibility of extension at Lower Castle Street. Between these two extremities, however, the differences in levels present an insurmountable difficulty to the planning of a single shopping centre and in spite of the repeated investigation of the problem, both by your Committee's officers and by others interested, no one has yet been able to produce a satisfactory plan which would provide the amount of shopping space needed ...' The argument is extremely convincing to anybody who knows the topography, and there can be little doubt that they made the right decision.*

In March 1944 the new plan was complete and released to the press. In April it was put on display at Radiant House in Colston Street and shortly afterwards at the City Art Gallery.¹³ Its layout broadly followed the existing streets, and was therefore fairly close to the plan which was built, but everything was straightened out and made rectangular. The roads were described as being traffic-free, and deliveries to the shops were from service roads behind them. Nearly all the old buildings were destroyed, but Wesley's chapel was retained and Quakers Friars and the Merchant Taylors' Almshouse faced each other across a formal pedestrian square. It was a highly attractive and forward-looking plan, but it wasn't fully worked out. In the perspective, for instance, Quakers Friars was shown attractively parallel to the almshouse, when in fact it would have been at an angle to it. More seriously, it is doubtful whether all the shops could be serviced without infringing the traffic-free roads,

* The isolating steepness of the castle hill on its north side is best appreciated when standing on the bridge in Union Street and looking down at Fairfax Street beneath, which is at the Broadmead level, and then up to Castle Park. The difference in levels within a short distance is dramatic.

and most seriously of all, it is clear that the cost had been given little consideration. The straightening of the roads would have meant that before they could be built the many buildings along the old ones, as well as the businesses in them, would have had to be removed, and all the sewers, cables, gas and water mains would have had to be grubbed up and re-laid. It was an inspiring dream rather than a realistic workable plan, which is perhaps what the time needed. It was markedly more attractive than all the rival plans which were to be put forward, but it aroused expectations which were not to be realised, and, without huge expenditure, could not have been realised.¹⁴

Public reaction was generally favourable. The *Evening World*¹⁵ commented that 'the decision to unveil to the press ... came as a surprise' because the planners were usually secretive, allowing neither the public nor the press to attend their Committee meetings. Instead, the press were given reports by the City's Public Relations officer when it was considered desirable.

No matter how attractive Broadmead was promised to be, the traders still didn't want to go there. When, a week or two later, the Retailers' Advisory Committee (unlike the Multiple Traders' Federation dominated by the more numerous but less economically powerful smaller traders) asked whether they could hope for re-instatement on Castle Street/Wine Street, the City Engineer said he could see no hope. The City Valuer brought out the clinching argument. He said the Retailers had themselves agreed that the ideal shop unit should have a 25 foot frontage and a depth of 85-100 feet. They could not all be accommodated on the old site.¹⁶ The traders, however, went away unconverted. It seems legitimate to wonder whether their attitude was beginning to be tinged by stubbornness.

The next contrary reaction came from the Chamber of Commerce, many of whose members were well equipped to recognise the plan's failings. In June¹⁷ they wrote to suggest that Professor Patrick Abercrombie or some other suitable town planner should be consulted on the planning of the whole central area. Abercrombie, who had prepared the Bristol and Bath Regional Plan in 1930, was the most eminent planner in Britain and attracting much attention with his plans for Plymouth. The Committee, however, replied with a very firm no: they said the City Engineer and his planning staff 'could best do the work'.

Throughout the country a belief became prevalent that some good could come out of the bombing because it gave the opportunity at last for the large scale re-planning of obsolete and worn-out cities. In August¹⁸ the Rotary Club produced a plan on axial Beaux Arts principles for the whole central area. It was designed by the Bristol architect Eustace Button, and was illustrated by an aerial view,¹⁹ drawn by one of

the leading architectural perspectivists of the day, showing huge areas of open space. Later, in 1946, the retail Traders produced a plan for the Castle Street site by the young Bristol architect Tom Burrough with very high site coverage, flyovers and underpasses (then virtually unknown in Britain), and curved buildings described by the press as 'Wellsian'.²⁰ Some proposals were more modest. In October the Planning Committee were told that a Mr W. Bracey of Bristol Co-operative Society had suggested that the streets should be covered with glass* at second floor level.²¹ Over the years various other organisations and individuals produced less interesting proposals, but none of them had any perceptible influence on the Council's plans.

Throughout the summer of 1944 reactions to the proposed move of site were coming in fast. Although the Multiple Traders' Federation²² claimed that a questionnaire showed two thirds of the traders in favour of moving, even the City Engineer admitted that he thought the majority were opposed to it. They had enormous support: the Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club remained 'strongly opposed', as were the Bristol and District Property Owners Association, the Civic Society, the Incorporated Association of Architects and Surveyors and a large number of individuals and companies. The Bristol Society of Architects and other objectors believed the Broadmead area (bounded on two sides by the course of the Frome) was waterlogged, liable to flood, and incapable of having cellars. That was a matter on which the City Engineer could speak with more authority than anybody else and he had no difficulty in persuading the Committee that the risk could be prevented. The Council for the Preservation of Ancient Bristol considered that there was 'no sufficient reason for mutilating the ancient plan of the city'. It was the best of the arguments, but not one which was likely to be given much consideration in 1944.²³

Ignoring every objection, in September 1944²⁴ the Committee resolved definitely that the shopping centre should be located in the Broadmead area. It was one of the most crucial planning decisions in Bristol's twentieth century history, and it was initiated, not by the Bristol planners but by multiple traders based outside the city.

The use of the 19 acre Castle Street site was also considered at the September meeting. At the time there was an absurd debate taking place

* In 1972 I was commissioned by the City Council to advise on the pedestrianisation of Broadmead. I suggested, amongst other things, that the main streets should be covered, very roughly on the lines suggested by Mr Bracey, and that Quakers Friars should be improved, very roughly along the lines of the City's 1944 plan. I was unaware of both precedents. The traders, having unsuccessfully opposed pedestrianisation, successfully opposed almost all my proposals. I still believe that if Broadmead is to prosper Mr Bracey's idea must triumph in the end.

in the press over the future use of the half-built new Council House on College Green. Somebody had suggested that it should be sold for use as a hotel, and new Council offices built on the Castle Street site instead. The Committee put an end to that by resolving that the site should be used for buildings of a public or semi-public nature, 'but not for Municipal offices'. Later, in July 1947,²⁵ the public or semi-public buildings were specified. They were to be a new Museum and Art Gallery (the old one having been badly damaged by a bomb), a concert hall (the Colston Hall having been accidentally burnt out in 1945), a conference hall, an extension to the Central Health Clinic, a government regional H.Q. and a hotel. Later, new law courts were added to the list. Since nobody could envisage a time when the Council would be able to afford such luxuries, the Committee decided²⁶ to use the site in the meantime for car parking and temporary warehousing. It remained a car park for 31 years, until 1978 when it was finally grassed.

A Public Inquiry was held in June 1946²⁷ to consider the Council's request for the sweeping Compulsory Purchase powers needed to carry out the replanning of the entire Central Area of the city. This involved much more than the shopping centre, and included, for example, the proposed Inner Ring Road. The District Valuer (a government official who is independent of the City Council) estimated that the cost of the Castle Street/Wine Street site would be £4.57m plus fees etc., and the Broadmead site £3.6m.²⁸ The result of the Inquiry was an unexpected slap in the face for the Council. The Minister said he wanted further Public Inquiries before he would consider granting such powers, and then they would only be for small areas at a time as the land was needed. (In the following year the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act decreed that no land could be compulsorily purchased by local authorities unless it would be needed within ten years).

In February 1947 the Retail Traders decided to gamble. They organised a poll to see what people thought about the move to Broadmead, and said that if it went against them they would stop all opposition to it. The result was announced in April. 13,363 people voted for the shops to be rebuilt on the old site, and a mere 418 voted for the move to Broadmead.²⁹ No doubt the poll was handled in a way that would be unacceptable today when we are more sophisticated about polling, but it must have been a terrible shock for the Planning Committee. They didn't let it show; in their lordly way they simply ignored it. However it had a permanent and disastrous effect on public opinion. From then onwards Broadmead was the shopping centre which nobody but the planners wanted.

In April, just before the result of the poll was announced, a meeting took place between Council officers and representatives of the Ministries

of Transport and Town and Country Planning. The Planning Ministry representatives (who may possibly have heard leaked reports of the likely outcome of the poll), said they still considered that the shops should go back to Castle Street, but would agree to the move to Broadmead if the Council were determined on it. They then said they now agreed that the proposed shopping area was not too big (which made their previous statement illogical because if Broadmead was of suitable size then the Castle Street site was too small). The discussion, which ranged over wider issues than Broadmead alone, left the Bristol officers convinced that shortage of money was increasingly influencing Ministerial policies.³⁰

In August 1948 the first Compulsory Purchase Order for Broadmead was finally issued.³¹ It seemed that at last work would be able to start, but the country's desperate financial position produced further delay because Ministers were unable, under iron Treasury control, to authorise expenditure. Since the government's grant contribution to the new shopping centre had to cover 90% of the loan charges for the first five years, and 50% for the remaining period, the Ministry was going to be very slow and piecemeal in authorising it. A second problem, also caused by the financial situation, was a serious shortage of building materials, particularly timber, cement, and above all, steel. At the end of 1949 at a discussion of Bristol's difficulty in obtaining Building Licences (needed for any works costing £500 or more) a representative of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning cheerfully told the Bristol officers that if his Ministry couldn't supply them the only alternative source would be the Board of Trade, and they would give them only to developers who were dollar earners or dollar savers.³²

It became clear that if any progress was to be made costs had to be cut, and that meant putting some realism into the planned layout. It was therefore altered by returning to the lines of the existing streets, thus allowing the buildings along them to remain in use until their sites were needed. The revised plan was ready by the end of summer 1948, producing the layout which exists today.³³ The big casualties of the change were the 'traffic free streets' of which no more was heard, and the Quakers Friars group. The setting of Quakers Friars had been the triumph of the earlier plan, it became the disaster of the new one. When the Society of Friends heard that their Meeting Room was no longer planned to stand in a pedestrian square onto which shops faced, but was to be in a car park surrounded by the backs of shops, they first complained,³⁴ and then decided, in 1951, to move out after 300 years in Broadmead.³⁵ The Council promptly bought the premises to use as the Registry Office.³⁶ Today, half a century later, wedding parties still pose for their photographs against the background of the pipe-festooned backs

of shops and their rows of dustbins and paper sacks. The settings of municipal Registry offices are frequently dismal; Bristol's, among the dustbins, must surely be the worst.

It was envisaged that most traders would build their own shops, but some would want the Council to provide them. This happened at the shop proposed on the uphill corner of Union Street and Broadmead. The City Architect prepared a design and was given the go-ahead in November 1949, the first for a new building in the shopping centre.³⁷ In the following May, the Ministry having authorised expenditure of £50,000 for construction in that financial year, the Planning Committee decided that the two sides of Broadmead should be the first phase of work. It was expected to take three years.³⁸ (Broadmead was only the western half of what is now called Broadmead; the eastern half was then called Rosemary Street.) Today this western stretch of Broadmead is architecturally the most successful because the mix of new and old buildings produces a variety which all the other streets lack.

In June the Multiple Traders Federation asked the Council for a binding undertaking that no shops would be allowed on the Castle Street site for the duration of the leases. The Council was unable to bind its successors, who might operate in altered circumstances and whose decisions could always be overturned by the Minister in appeals, but its members resolved to record in the minutes 'an expression of their intention not to allow the redevelopment of the Castle Street/Wine Street site for shopping purposes'.³⁹ Successive Councils have consistently honoured the agreement. Presumably encouraged by this reassurance, Montague Burton and Marks and Spencer signed leases a few weeks later,⁴⁰ and many others were under negotiation. In the same month 13-21 Horsefair and 20-21 Broadmead were demolished, the first in this still largely intact district.

In the autumn of 1951 all this activity was suddenly threatened when a Conservative government replaced the Labour administration. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government (as the Ministry of Town and Country Planning was renamed) announced that it was unable to say what the capital allocations for the next two years would be,⁴¹ and that no building licences for new work over £1000 would be issued. Worse still, even those already given would be reviewed.⁴² In the following January they said there would be no further steel allocations until further notice.⁴³ Those few months were the lowest point in the Council's hopes for Broadmead, but thereafter things picked up quickly.

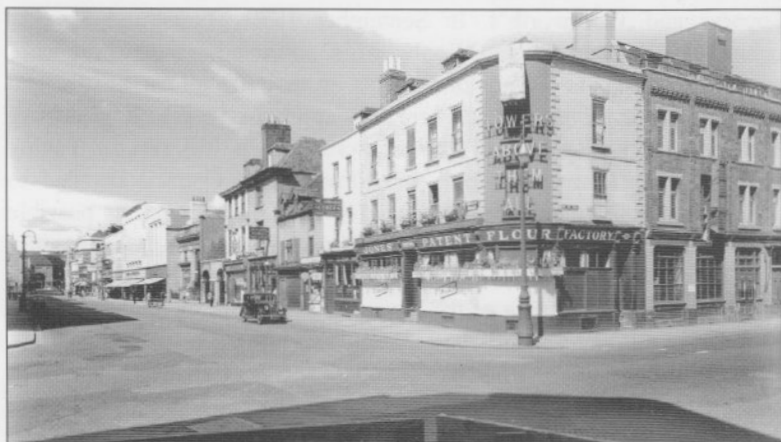
At any given time there are three or four stores whose drawing power is so great that the presence or absence of at least one of them can make or break a shopping centre. At that time the key stores were Marks and

Spencer and Woolworth's. In September 1952 Marks and Spencer opened in Broadmead,⁴⁴ and Woolworth's, on the other side of the road, was rising fast. As usual, knowledge of their imminent arrival had encouraged the waverers, who were now applying for sites in gratifying numbers. At last Broadmead's commercial success was certain. Taking advantage of the tide while it was flowing the Council decided to concentrate their financial allocations for 1953-54 as much as possible on Broadmead (thereby infuriating the Park Street traders, who urgently needed to have the huge bomb gaps in their own street filled).⁴⁵

Thereafter the building of the shopping centre progressed slowly but uneventfully. It wasn't until 1958 that the two biggest stores, Jones's and Lewis's, opened in the Horsefair. The last sector of shopping streets to be completed was the northernmost, between the Inner Circuit Road and the Horsefair. Here, under a new City Architect, Albert Clarke, architectural control was exercised more rigidly than before, resulting in long, typically 60s uniform façades. There were no more battles; instead they raged, more furiously than ever, over the Wine Street site, provoked first by the unpopular Prudential offices which opened in 1958, but particularly by the Bank of England and Norwich Union buildings, which opened in 1963. That is a story for which there is no space here.

Little mention has been made so far of the historic buildings in Broadmead. The district, although in 1945 few people could appreciate it, was an enchanting mixture of buildings ranging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, of every style and size, threaded with hidden lanes and courts. Like most districts of Bristol it had been bombed, but much less severely than the Castle Street area just up the hill.⁴⁶ It is hard today, when it seems that almost everybody loves old buildings, to remember that 50 years ago few people took much interest in them.* When they did, it was more often for historical than architectural reasons, so that Wesley's chapel and Quakers Friars were fairly safe from demolition. All the other buildings were due to go. The traders were worried whenever somebody argued that one should be saved, because it would cause a gap in the continuity of the window displays. Such gaps were, and still are, believed to deter window shoppers and thus damage the trade of adjacent shops (which is why shopkeepers have always objected to banks, building societies and estate agencies in their streets). They were particularly worried when it was suggested that the

* An instance is the fact that throughout the 1940s it was intended to widen Park Street by demolishing the houses on its Brandon Hill side and rebuilding them on a new line set back from the old one. This shocked the City Architect, who in 1945 suggested instead that the buildings on both sides should be preserved and the pavements set back under them. No decision was made on that, but the plan to widen the street was only abandoned in 1949.



Two adjoining shots of the corner of Broadmead and Old King Street in July 1953. Today the camera would be standing in the central hub of the shopping area. Rosemary Street goes off to the right in the lower picture. Old King Street is now called Merchant Street and Rosemary Street is now the eastern arm of Broadmead. The photographs show how the area, then still substantially intact, consisted of a mix of timber-framed seventeenth century houses, and brick eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings. © Winstone Archive



Greyhound Hotel and the adjoining eighteenth century Post Office should be preserved, because this would make a long gap in the shopping frontage.⁴⁷ The result, after much debate, was that the Greyhound only survived by having shop windows knocked into its ground floor, and the Post Office was demolished. The traders were also worried by the two forecourts of Wesley's chapel, which produced wide gaps in Broadmead and Horsefair. Their protests were such that the Regional Controller of the Ministry of Planning and Local Government felt compelled to intervene on their behalf. He 'strongly opposed' the Council's intention to put a low wall and ornamental gates on the Horsefair forecourt, thus producing a 7.6m gap in the frontage. Instead he suggested a gateway with a small lock-up shop on each side, which is what was built.⁴⁸

At the end of 1947⁴⁹ the City Architect, J. Nelson Meredith, recommended the preservation of six historic buildings in Broadmead and the demolition of sixteen. (It wasn't recognised at that time that all the buildings in Broadmead were historic, because run-of-the-mill Georgian and *anything* Victorian didn't count). His list for demolition included the Lower Arcade (the Upper Arcade having been destroyed by bombing). As soon as this became public the Council for the Preservation of Ancient Bristol urged the Planning Committee to save it. They refused.⁵⁰ In January 1948 they were asked again, and again refused.⁵¹ In the following year the members of the Planning Committee were outraged to hear that it was about to be Listed and instructed the Town Clerk to protest to the Minister.⁵² He Listed it anyway. After all this fuss the traders decided it was worth preserving because it would provide some small shops,⁵³ and the officers said it could be prevented from producing a gap if the cills of the windows were lowered to make them into shop windows. They also suggested that the steps could be replaced by a ramp.⁵⁴ Finally and belatedly the City Valuer then announced that if the Arcade was demolished the site would produce a rent of £6000 per annum, but if it was preserved and altered at a cost of about £20,000, the annual revenue would be £9000.⁵⁵ Needless to say that did the trick and the Arcade was saved. Apart from the Arcade, Wesley's chapel and Quakers Friars, only two other buildings were saved, the Merchant Taylors' Almshouse and the Greyhound Hotel, (both of which, after subsequent alterations, are now only façades).

The alterations which the City Architect made to the Arcade, both internally and externally, are deeply unfortunate. Far from saving it (as Bristol myth has it), he nearly ruined it, as he did the interior of the Friends' Meeting House when he converted it into the Registry Office. His contribution to the appearance of the shopping streets was no better, not because he and his staff were poor designers - which many initial

designs show they were not - but because he lost battle after battle with the developers and their architects. It must have been heart-breaking for him, but he was aiming at the impossible. He thought it his duty to control the façades, to tame the vulgarity of the worst of them, and fit them all into a bigger pattern. There can be little doubt that the ideal floating in his mind was classical Bath. He insisted on Bath stone façades, and tried to insist on a uniformity of fascia and parapet lines. At first, in order to produce a satisfying proportion of height to width, he decreed that every shop should have four storeys, and those in the central hub, for which he designed the elevations, five.⁵⁶ This was allowing aesthetics to take precedence over reality, because none of the traders wanted even four storeys. In September 1951 the Valuer reported that resistance was so strong that he couldn't find tenants for the five-storey hub. Nelson Meredith was forced to redesign it with four storeys, and the streets coming into it with three. He also lost a battle to make the hub circular, which would have required its stone facing slabs to be cut on a curve, and its metal windows to be manufactured on a curve. Predictably, it finished with straight sides. It was probably at this time that informed opinion began to believe that the City Valuer was largely responsible for Broadmead's poor design because the City Architect was forced to comply with his demands. To an extent that was true, but it was Nelson Meredith's job to produce attractive designs which were also commercially realistic. He was unable to do so, (which would probably have been the case with many architects at that time).

The visual defects of Broadmead are not much to do with the proportions. Even at the lower height at which the hub was built, it works aesthetically quite well, providing a climax to each of the four streets going into it, and pulling the central part of the complex together. But the streets, with the partial exception of the original Broadmead, are unquestionably a failure. Why? The answer is perfectly simple. There are two ways of designing a street, either as a classical unity where the parts give up their individuality to the whole, or as a picturesque assemblage where the whole is made up of a variety of disparate parts. Bath is the *locus classicus* of the first type, and a thousand High Streets of the second. Broadmead is the worst of both worlds; it has no real variety and no grand unifying vision. The result is a bore. With very few exceptions all the most popular British shopping streets are of the varied High Street type, because they can accept almost any treatment, including the inevitable and constant alterations. It surely isn't wrong for traders to behave like hucksters and try to out-shout their neighbours with bigger or brassier buildings, with gimmicks and projecting signs. They have always done so when they can, and produced splendidly vigorous High

Streets in the process. Vulgarly very rarely hurt a shopping street; twentieth century attempts to impose boring good taste have killed hundreds of them. Few planners and official architects, whose jobs depend on society accepting that control is better than freedom, and gentility better than vulgarity, will ever accept that.

Footnotes

Citations consisting solely of numerals refer to minutes of Bristol's Planning and Public Works Committee, later named the Planning and Reconstruction Committee. They are in the Bristol Record Office. The following abbreviations are used: EP - Evening Post, EW - Evening World, WDP - Western Daily Press, BRL - Bristol Reference Library.

1. Development Plan 1952, Report of Survey and Analysis. BRL B20607.
2. 11.12.40, 78.
3. 22.1.41, 156.
4. 22.1.41, 156.
5. 29.1.41, 164.
6. 19.2.41, 225.
7. 12.3.41, 263.
8. 7.5.41, 417.
9. By then the Planning and Public Works Committee had been renamed the Planning and Reconstruction Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir John Inskip.
10. 27.10.43, 288. Three weeks later, on 19 November, the news was reported by the EP, which claimed that the idea had been suggested by Mr E.S. Rex, a surveyor, in a letter to the paper in 1941. It made no splash at the time and is not likely to have inspired the Multiple Traders. Even if it did, it was they who put the idea into the planners' minds.
11. 10.11.43, 25.
12. 5.7.48, appendix A.
13. 26.4.44, 201, 224.
14. EP 15.3.44, WDP 16.3.44.
15. 26.4.44, 201 and 203. EW 16.3.44.
16. 26.4.44, 203.
17. 5.6.44, 317.
18. 16.8.44, 361. EP 21.9.44.
19. Illustrated in J.V. Punter *Design Control in Bristol 1940-1990*, Bristol 1990, 30.
20. EW 9.10.46. The least attractive drawing is reproduced in Punter, *op. cit.*
21. 12. 10.44, 145.
22. WDP 28.4.47.
23. 12.10.44, J7, J8, J31, J34, J36, J39, J47, J50.
24. 21.9.44, 407 and 12.10.44.

25. 16.7.47, 724.
26. 13.8.47, 771.
27. 17.7.46, 654.
28. 28.8.46, attached report by Town Clerk.
29. WDP 28.4.47.
30. 1.5.47, 525.
31. 8.8.48, 719. The Order was dated 28.8.48.
32. 2.12.49, attached report.
33. 25.11.48, 890.
34. 18.10.50, 460.
35. 18.4.51, 968.
36. 19.9.51, 277.
37. 2.11.49, 442.
38. 3.5.50, 929.
39. 28.6.50, 111 and 12.7.50, 158.
40. 12.7.50, 166 and 170.
41. 17.10.51, 347.
42. 28.11.51, 466.
43. 9.1.52, 541.
44. 3.9.52, appendix B.
45. 4.2.53, appendix A.
46. I have recorded my memories of Broadmead before its redevelopment in *Alderman Hennessey's Bristol*, an article in *Bristol in the Fifties*, ed. James Belsey, Bristol 1988.
47. 19.1.48, 219.
48. 11.5.50, 480.
49. 12.11.47, 19.
50. 3.12.47, 89.
51. 28.1.48, 226.
52. 4.5.49, 1321.
53. 27.7.49, 205.
54. 5.4.50, 887b
55. 19.4.50, 899.
56. 2.5.50, 998.

Old Docks - New Problems at the Port of Bristol 1945-1965

PAUL ELKIN

When the Second World War finally came to an end mid-way through 1945, Bristolians were still appalled at the disruption and damage air-raids had caused to their historic city. Close to the central districts of the town worst affected, some parts of the City Dock had also suffered damage but it had never been completely disabled and continued to play an important part in the country's war-effort. The port of Bristol, with its main ocean-going docks alongside the Severn Estuary at Avonmouth and Portishead, had actually suffered less damage than most of the country's other major ports and continued to work flat-out at high levels of traffic right up to the end of hostilities. It was able to revert to something like its pre-war level of trade and shipping activity comparatively quickly and contributed greatly to the recovery of the shattered British economy in the course of the next decade or so.

In 1945, the port of Bristol comprised three extensive, well-equipped and quite separate dock systems. The oldest, a nineteenth century 'floating harbour', was always referred to in the twentieth century as the City Dock. It was situated close to the central residential and commercial districts of the town some seven miles inland up the tidal river Avon. However, the main docks in commercial terms were seven miles to the west alongside the Severn estuary at Avonmouth in south Gloucestershire. A third harbour at Portishead in north Somerset, opened in 1879, completed the series of docks which had been owned and operated since 1884 by Bristol Corporation. Managed on a day-to-day basis after 1924 by the somewhat independently titled Port of Bristol Authority, the whole enterprise nevertheless remained the direct responsibility of the City Council's Docks Committee. It continued to be the largest municipal port in the country, a distinction dating back to the middle of the nineteenth century when the move for the Corporation of Bristol to take over the running of the port from the ailing Bristol Dock Company had been strongly backed by the town's Society of Merchant Venturers and its newly formed Chamber of Commerce with links to the Free Trade movement of the time. This tradition of public ownership was to have considerable significance for the period covered by this article and to some extent accounts for the port's reasonable record in terms of labour relations.

Bristol's docks had always been amongst the best equipped in any British port in modern times and could deal efficiently with just about any type of cargo perhaps with the exception of coal for export. This had never been a major concern of the Bristol authorities as the Bristol coal field had been in steady decline since the early 1900s and the best steam coal in the world was easily available from South Wales, just a short sea-journey away on the other side of the Bristol Channel. In any case, the trend since the First World War had been towards fuel oil for which the port was well equipped. For this and all other commodities handled on a regular basis in peacetime, it was the responsibility of a vessel's owner or his agent to make the necessary arrangements with the port authorities for dockers and stevedores, cranes and storage to be ready for unloading and reloading a ship. The distinction between 'dockers' and 'stevedores' is an important one. Although working practices could vary greatly between different parts of the country, dockers were traditionally employed in Bristol as elsewhere on an entirely casual basis only when there were vessels to be unloaded or loaded. Paid by the day by a port's managing authority, dockers provided the basic manpower still essential for most cargo handling in the period under review. Stevedores, on the other hand, although performing much the same heavy lifting and man-handling of cargoes as dockers, were employed usually on a weekly basis by private companies which operated under licence in the port to provide ship owners and agents with a more skilled manual workforce specifically responsible for the actual loading and distribution of cargo within the holds of a ship and sometimes within warehouses or transit sheds when more careful handling of a load was required than the average docker might be expected to give. Traditionally, loading cargo in the holds of a ship had been done by a vessel's own crew. The heavy work of shifting cargo between warehouses and a vessel at the quayside was left to labourers known as porters. However, as the scale and pace of cargo-handling changed with the introduction of larger iron steamships in the Victorian era, port authorities came under increasing pressure from ship owners to load or unload vessels much faster so larger numbers of ordinary 'dockers' were employed by the port authorities on a strictly casual basis by the day to shift incoming and outgoing cargoes as fast as possible. It was found that using skilled stevedores to load and unload the ship's holds further reduced the time a vessel needed to stay in port. It also relieved the port authorities of some of the burden of administration as these men were usually contracted directly to the owners of the cargo. Basically once the stevedores had got the cargo off a ship onto the quayside, it then became the responsibility of the port authority's dockers to get the goods into store or ready for transport.

Other port workers such as crane drivers, dredging or railway crews and maintenance engineering and harbourmaster's staff formed part of a permanent establishment employed on regular contracts. It was the ordinary dockers who felt the most vulnerable and consequently tended on occasions to behave in a militant fashion towards their employer notwithstanding the fact that in the case of the Port of Bristol Authority, this was the ratepayers of the City. However, as in most aspects of working life, the interposing of layers of corporate administration and bureaucracy tends to create an 'us and them' response particularly from workers like dockers whose day-to-day work was physically hard, often dangerous, sometimes unpleasant and the most insecure of any class of working people in modern times. Although by all accounts a reasonable employer, the Port of Bristol Authority could only function like any other similar managing agency of docks and harbours, where historically the workforce of dockers was only employed when there was work to be done, that is when there were ships in port with cargoes to be handled. By 1945, elsewhere in British industry extremely casual employment by the day had been all but eliminated from most commercial and industrial enterprises. It was only by and large the dockers in ports who, by 1945, knew they could still only expect to be taken on and paid by the day. A docker's employment, even in the case of a publicly owned port such as Bristol was entirely dependent on the port authority's foremen who would select the men they required each day from a 'pen' in a time-honoured but somewhat degrading fashion. Not unnaturally, these foremen tended to pick dockers they knew to be reliable which often left genuinely sick, less fit or those rightly or wrongly branded as 'troublemakers' without work for sometimes weeks on end and their dependants without any income.

The money paid to dockers had to be recovered by the port's administration from a ship's owners and the consignees of batches of cargo through a complex system of dock and wharfage dues and handling charges. The size of this casual workforce of dockers could also vary considerably throughout the year reflecting the seasonal and sometimes uncertain nature of port operations. The immediate post-war situation in 1945 was not helped by the fact that the design of many cargo ships then in use was way out of date. Loading them through poorly positioned hatches was not only ridiculously labour intensive but potentially very hazardous for the men involved. Many vessels still carried a considerable mix of different types of cargo in a variety of packaging which again added considerably to the time and cost of port operations. Streamlining both of the ships and berths to handle specific types of cargo had started in the Victorian era with grain, petroleum, iron

ore and coal, but for ports like Bristol there was still an enormous variety of cargo being handled in a fairly traditional and labour intensive way. However, in the drive to get the country and its economy back onto its feet, newer ideas and techniques had to wait and so too did the dockers for any fundamental change in their conditions of employment.

There were those of course amongst the Bristol dockers in 1945 who knew that technical changes in port operations and ship design were inevitable but likely to be a two-edged sword for both the port and its work force. On the one hand, better technology and more mechanical handling would make the job safer and perhaps lead towards regular employment for dockers as more skilled workers. The other consequence of increased mechanisation of port work would be the need for far fewer men; the small armies of dockers and stevedores kept almost permanently busy during the war years would clearly dwindle in peacetime and become a thing of the past as change worked its way through the port industry. The question in 1945 for dockers across the country was how soon might they expect to see their jobs decasualised and if so, how many of them could still expect to continue working.

Dockers everywhere had joined the giant Transport and General Workers' Union formed in the 1920s and successive governments felt genuinely vulnerable to the threat of dock strikes. However, over the years the union's leaders, including men like Ernest Bevin, had exercised their powers responsibly and endeavoured to restrain their members from taking strike action unless it was a genuine dispute that could be upheld and negotiated successfully at the highest level. This in turn had led to trade union leaders like Bevin making an absolutely vital contribution to winning the Second World War and working in some instances on very close terms with most important government ministers and officials. What had eluded both government and senior trade unionists alike was any degree of real control over unofficial disputes and local negotiations with employers for special rates and bonuses that could vary enormously from port to port. These local additions to their pay were jealously guarded by the dockers as a means of tiding them over for when they were not picked out of the pen for a day's work. However, the whole system had become ridiculously over complicated and the least infringement by port managers or ships agents, perhaps unaware of a particular local 'custom and practice', could end up in a ship or consignment of cargo being 'blackened' and the dockers stopping work until the matter was sorted out. Even if work proceeded smoothly the additional cost of these locally agreed payments often forced ship owners and cargo agents to think again and transfer their business to another port with fewer local agreements and working practices to worry about and

therefore cheaper prices for loading and unloading a ship. Grappling with these issues was to prove increasingly difficult and acrimonious in the period under review.

The commercial hinterland of the port of Bristol was extensive with effective road and rail communication between London and the major industrial areas of the Midlands and South Wales. A large part of the south and west of England in general still looked to Bristol for commercial and shipping services and coastal shipping operators continued to provide weekly services between the City Dock and other major ports including London, Liverpool, Hull, Glasgow and Southampton. Regular short-sea services also ran to Ireland and traffic to European ports such as Rotterdam and Antwerp which had been interrupted by the war was quickly resumed. International trade had grown steadily during the 1920s and 30s, despite world recession, and the Port of Bristol Authority had marketed Bristol very effectively under the catch-phrase *Gateway of Empire*. This gave Bristol strong trading links with most parts of the British Empire and the export of motor cars and machinery particularly from the Midlands was resumed very quickly through the port in order to bring desperately needed revenue to a near bankrupt nation.

The port's grain storage and processing facilities at the City and Avonmouth docks were easily amongst the most modern and well integrated in any British port at the time and accounted for a significant proportion of the country's imported grain destined for flour for human consumption as well as animal feed throughout the war and in the years immediately following. It was also claimed that half the tea consumed in Britain entered the country through the port of Bristol. The mighty Imperial Tobacco Company was based in the City with the local firm of W.D. & H.O. Wills and its famous 'Woodbine' brand of cigarettes at the centre of operations making the import, warehousing and processing of vast quantities of tobacco a major industry which had not entirely collapsed under the pressures of war and was again very quick to be re-established despite post-war restrictions. Other traditional trades such as the import of raw cane sugar in the form of molasses used in the production of animal feed or cocoa destined for Fry's or Carson's confectionery remained important trades, as did the bulk handling of basic commodities such as timber, sand and gravel for the building and construction industries. There was a substantial traffic in zinc ore for processing at one of the country's largest zinc-smelting plants built alongside the Royal Edward Dock at Avonmouth shortly after the First World War. Petroleum was another major import through a specially equipped 'oil basin' in the Royal Edward Dock at Avonmouth. It had

been selected as one of the country's main terminals for this vital war supply and was handling over 4.5 million tons a year by the end of the War. The unusually high tidal range at least 45 feet (nearly 14 metres) of the Severn Estuary in the vicinity of the docks at Avonmouth was a great natural advantage in that it allowed large oil tankers to operate almost at any time of day or night to an off-shore jetty specially constructed at the start of the war. Connected to extensive oil storage tanks on shore the petroleum was efficiently distributed in rail tank-wagons or small sea-going coastal tankers to where it was needed throughout the war and later in peacetime according to the government's strictly controlled post-war petrol rationing programme.

Bristol's civic and commercial leaders, although sometimes slow to invest in the port's development in the past, had made what proved to be exactly the right commercial decision at the start of the twentieth century by spending £1.8 million in extending the Victorian dock at Avonmouth into a new 'ocean terminal' with an entrance lock big enough to take the then world's largest vessels such as the *Mauritania*. Completed in 1908, the Royal Edward Dock was the decisive turning point in the port of Bristol's commercial history and proved to be one of the country's greatest strategic assets during World War One. Huge numbers of troops, returning wounded and massive amounts of munitions and other supplies for the war effort passed through this new dock at Avonmouth. Special trains ran daily from Hotwells station in the Gorge taking sometimes up to 2,000 port workers each day to Avonmouth and back. Further development of the port between the First and Second World Wars included completion of a first class road 'The Portway' in 1926 between the City and Avonmouth and a major extension to the Royal Edward Dock, the Eastern Arm, officially opened by the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII). These developments helped to buffer the local economy against the worst effects of the years of the world trade depression in the 1930s and enabled the City to make an absolutely vital contribution to the country's war effort for the second time in a generation. World War Two saw the port again working at full capacity and despite some damage able to continue almost immediately with the post-war reconstruction of the local and national economy.

Wartime bombing had destroyed the port's railway passenger terminal alongside the Edwardian entrance lock at Avonmouth. This was not regarded as a significant loss as aspirations to build up passenger and emigrant traffic through the port had amounted to relatively little and the terminal was not rebuilt after 1945. However, the most regular and long lasting of the port's passenger-carrying liners had been the fleet of steamships operated by the partly American-owned company, Elders &

Fyffes, and their traffic was resumed as soon as possible after the war ended. The company had been operating a weekly service from the early years of the twentieth century between Avonmouth and the Caribbean carrying mail and passengers (mainly government officials and their families) and bringing back on the return voyages large consignments of bananas and other tropical fruit carried in purpose-built refrigerated holds. This trade was naturally disrupted by the war, with a number of the larger 'A' class vessels from the fleet immediately requisitioned for convoy protection and other duties. Over a dozen were sunk by enemy action and would clearly need some time to be replaced so it was not possible to resume the import of bananas until 30 December 1945 when one of Elders & Fyffes smaller 'B' class ships *Tilapa* was met by reporters and the chairman of the Port Authority and his two grandchildren who enthusiastically tucked into their first ever bananas for the benefit of the press. The return to greengrocers' shelves of tropical fruit like bananas, albeit in short supply until the 1950s, did much to help sustain the public's morale in the early post-war period when food rationing continued with equally stringent peacetime austerity measures. Dockers were in a primary position of course to help themselves to some of these scarce commodities and rationed goods entering the country by sea. There will never be any hard evidence to support the extent of pilfering for the black market by Bristol dockers and others connected with port but the tales of 'accidental' breakage through faulty slinging of loads are legion. Many a port worker's family enjoyed fresh and tinned fruit when most people either couldn't afford them or had almost begun to forget what certain things tasted like as result of war-time shortages and post-war rationing.

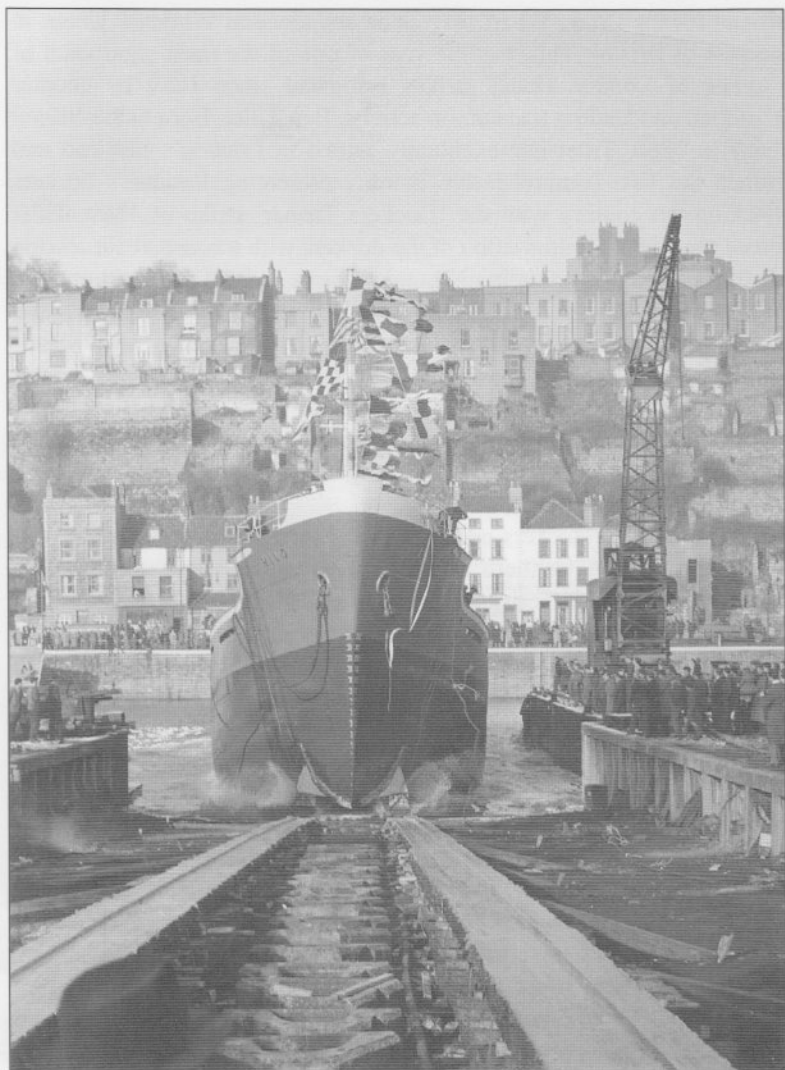
In July 1945, Alderman A.W.S. Burgess, the chairman of the City Council's Docks Committee, was able to report that the £350,000 worth of wartime damage to the docks could be considered 'comparatively light' and that the government had already reimbursed £114,000 of the £142,000 so far spent by the Docks Committee on repairs. Between them, the country's west coast ports, particularly Bristol and Liverpool, had handled a major proportion of the nation's desperately-needed and hard-won war supplies. The South Wales and Bristol Channel Ports had provided a ready refuge for many a war-torn transatlantic convoy and handled over one hundred and thirty million tons of commodities, goods and vehicles, Bristol alone accounting for thirty-eight million tons. In September 1945 during a speech at the Mansion House (the official residence of the City's Lord Mayor) the Minister of War Transport, the Rt. Hon. Alfred Barnes, commended the City of Bristol and its port not only for the sheer quantity of supplies it had handled but the immense

value to the country's war effort and morale in dealing so efficiently with often unfamiliar commodities and goods in emergency conditions when other 'great ports had been knocked out of commission.'

The return to something like normality therefore seemed to come relatively quickly to the port of Bristol in 1945 and the years immediately following. The port's workforce had largely benefited from the busy war years in terms of more regular employment and additional overtime payments and looked forward to continuing under government direction to make up for lost time and business in peacetime. Valuable exports flowed though the port once the country's manufacturing capacity had been reorganised from wartime production and vital raw materials and food stuffs started to flow back in as fast as the country could afford. The port's last remaining firm of sea-going shipbuilders, Charles Hill & Sons, and their subsidiary, Jefferies Ship Repairers, were busy refitting many vessels that had been damaged or neglected through the war and commenced building a few new ships and boats on average about four or five each year. Several ships of P. & A. Campbell's fleet of paddle-steamers that survived wartime requisitioning as mine-sweepers and anti-aircraft gun ships were ready by 1947 to resume their popular pre-war Bristol Channel cruise services, adding another simple boost to the morale of ordinary Bristolians still coming to terms with the damage and devastation of the city's central districts.

What was also very hard to determine in 1945 was the extent to which local and national politics and politicians were likely to help or hinder the post-war development of the City and its port. It was clearly going to be a difficult period of continuing austerity despite the short-term jubilation and relief with the end of conflict. The priority given to port work in post-war Britain made dockers aware that now they were in potentially quite a powerful position to press home demands for improvements in pay and conditions. With the election of a Labour government in May 1945, Bristol's dockers anticipated that they might benefit in dealing with these issues from the city's close connections with prominent members of the Labour Party including Ernest Bevin, the pioneer of modern trade unionism in Britain, and Sir Stafford Cripps. Both men had served in Winston Churchill's war-time coalition government and now held important posts in the country's post-war socialist government which, it should be remembered, established the National Health Service in 1948 to the ultimate benefit of all working people.

Ernest Bevin had been born in the Somerset village of Winsford in 1881. After moving to Easton in Bristol in his early teens, he became a Baptist preacher and trade union activist. By 1911, he was the full-time



One of the most enduring links with the past for the City Docks was the continuing sight until 1976 of newly built sea-going vessels being launched from the port's last remaining shipyard on Spike Island opposite the Hotwell Road. This modest 991-ton diesel-power coaster 'Milo' built in 1952 for the old-established Bristol General Steam Navigation Company was typical of the output from Charles Hill & Sons' Albion Yard in its final years. The remains of bombed houses on the slopes of Clifton Wood can be seen clearly.

official for the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union in the port of Bristol. This was the year of one of the most significant of a series of London Docks strikes instigated since 1889 by another Bristolian and leading trade union activist, Ben Tillet. Born in the Bristol slums in 1860, Tillet had eventually settled in London's east end and formed the first comprehensive union representing London's dockers shocking the country with the 'Dockers Tanner' strike of 1889. Tillet forced the pace of unionisation of the dockers with a constant succession of strikes, usually starting in the London docks and not always supported elsewhere, but the 1911 strike culminated in every main port in England including Bristol being paralysed. Armed soldiers guarded Temple Meads station as Great Western railwaymen supported the dockers. This formed the background to the situation at the port of Bristol in 1911 in which its new manager Denis Ross-Johnson and the dockers union representative Ernest Bevin set out to see if some degree of decasualisation of dock work could be achieved.

The number of dockers and stevedores regularly at work in the port at the start of the twentieth century varied between 3,000 and 5,000. However, the port authority and ship-owners always took the view that they simply could not afford to employ this number of workers on anything but a casual basis as they would be frequently paying men to stand idle whilst ships were at sea. Although steam and diesel power made it possible to operate cargo liners to regular timetables, there were still long periods when there would be relatively few vessels in dock for loading or unloading and there would be no work for most of the dockers. Some might continue to work on the secondary tasks moving cargoes around within the port and its various factories and warehouses but the numbers would be small compared to the busy times when many vessels were in port requiring attention. Some dockers had other manual jobs elsewhere, only travelling to Avonmouth or elsewhere in the port for occasional work to supplement their income. There was often friction between these part-time 'once-a-weekers' and the more experienced dockers for whom port work was their livelihood.

In 1911, the new general manager of the port of Bristol, Denis Ross-Johnson, and Ernest Bevin, the dockers' representative, came together to look at the problem of dock labour. Both men agreed that the most important and difficult cargoes should be always expertly handled by teams of experienced and fit men who could be relied on because they had, if not full-time permanent jobs, then at least some form of guarantee that they would be in regular employment at the port with the prospect of achieving a reasonably steady income for themselves and their families. Many difficulties stood in the way of the two men who seemed

to have established a good working relationship based on mutual respect and Bevin's modern and moderate approach to trade unionism. Port employers and the trade unions were to be constantly frustrated, however, when well intentioned efforts to improve the terms and conditions of dock work came to nothing or ended in dispute. The intervention of two World Wars left no opportunity to finally resolve the matter as far as peace-time conditions went and it was still unfinished business in 1945. Ernest Bevin had by then moved on to higher things. He had founded the giant Transport & General Workers' Union after the First World War by skilfully amalgamating no less than thirty-two previously separate unions and served as its general secretary from 1921 until 1940. He was invited to serve as Minister of Labour and National Service by Winston Churchill and had achieved complete mobilisation of the country's manpower by 1943. When the Second World War ended, his personal and political interests had shifted to international affairs and he became Foreign Secretary from 1945 until shortly before his death in 1951. This able politician with much local knowledge that might have been deployed in the dockers' cause was therefore otherwise occupied in the international scene and not in a position to bring his powers of persuasion to bear on how to change the terms and conditions of employment for casual port workers in the way that he might once have done.

Another major political figure in the post-war Labour government with strong Bristol connections was the economist and Labour statesman, Sir Stafford Cripps (1889-1952). Cripps served as Member of Parliament after 1931 for Bristol's north-east constituency. With increasingly left-wing tendencies, he was expelled from the Labour party in January 1939 just before the beginning of World War Two for demanding a Popular Front that included communists to oppose the policy of appeasement towards Nazi Germany. However, like Ernest Bevin, he also served in Churchill's war-time coalition government, becoming Minister of Aircraft Production from November 1942 until the end of the war. When Labour came to power in July 1945, he rose to President of the Board of Trade for two years, finally serving as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1947 until resigning in October 1950 through ill-health brought on by overwork.

If any of Bristol's dockers had entertained hopes that senior Labour Party statesmen like Bevin or Cripps might bring influence to bear to improve their terms and conditions of employment in post-war Britain, they were soon to be sadly disillusioned. 'Austerity Cripps', as he was known to many, had only strong and bitter medicine for the country to continue swallowing and the Labour Government's contentious Transport

Act paid scant regard to the dockers' circumstances. Addressing a May Day rally in Queen Square in Bristol on a dull day in 1947, a crowd of over 3,000 was reported by the *Bristol Observer* as listening somewhat sombrely to Cripps' justification of the austerity measures he was introducing and the reasons for nationalising the Bank of England and the country's coal, steel, transport, electricity and gas industries.

With the presence in Whitehall of a Labour government, officials of the Labour Party in Bristol also seem to have decided that it was time to flex their political muscles. They took the opportunity of the May Day rally in Queen Square to also post a 'warning' to the local press that 'We're Very Influential'. This curious statement seemed aimed at stemming what was perceived as an anti-socialist bias in press reporting at the time but was also to send a strong message to local industrial and commercial leaders who might be otherwise strongly opposed to the government's policy of nationalisation. Cripps' Queens Square speech concluded:

'With large blocks of industry nationalised ... the rest of industrial life we are, for the present, leaving to private enterprise and putting it up to them, with the help of government, to do what they can to show that they can create efficiency in industry as well as we can by nationalisation.'

The port of Bristol was already by far the largest municipal and therefore publicly-owned dock undertaking in the country. Yet the Transport Act threatened to throw everything off balance by turning the Labour government into its owner in place of the City Council. Alderman Burgess, chairman of the Docks Committee, had cited the port of Bristol in September 1945 as a fine example of 'prudent public ownership' adding his own view that 'I don't think anyone in Bristol would go back on public ownership of the docks.' He was referring to ownership by the ratepayers of the City and County of Bristol, not the Labour government in Whitehall. The latter seemed intent on underestimating the capital value of the port at something like 45% of its true worth of £11.5 million. The Mayor and Corporation of Bristol had been empowered since 1848 to maintain and operate the port as an expense against the rates. It had for the most part been prudently managed and for most of the first half of the twentieth century run at a profit including steady repayment of capital debt charges for the cost of the Royal Edward Dock at Avonmouth and subsequent extensions and improvements. This was public ownership on a scale which generally benefited the local community. The threat of nationalisation was not particularly welcomed even by the Labour members of the City Council.

Less than two years later and only days after the Queen Square rally in May 1947, Alderman Burgess again was able to give further endorsement of Bristol's publicly-owned docks as 'more free from major disturbances than any other large port in the country' and showing a healthy overall credit balance of £34,480. Within three months, however, there were worrying signs of trouble. For the first time since the general strike of 1926, American coal was imported through Avonmouth on board the aptly named *Winston Churchill*, and by 4 October 1947, thirty-nine City Dock men had been dismissed as 'too old or infirm' to fulfil the conditions of the Ministry of Labour Dock Labour Scheme which had been accepted by the National Joint Council for the port transport industry. Five hundred City dockers struck 'in sympathy with their dismissed comrades' and Portishead men followed suit although conditions at Avonmouth remained 'normal'. The dispute was resolved but the import of valuable cargoes of timber, copper, lead and wood pulp were badly delayed. It signalled the start of troubled times for all of the country's major ports including Bristol with more and more unofficial stoppages as dock workers felt secure enough on the one hand to press home claims for increased wages, special bonuses and 'jobs-for life', whilst on the other often feeling betrayed and insecure when the Labour government had to balance a political and financial tightrope to get the country's economy back on its feet. Bristol's dockers felt particularly badly let down by people such as 'Austerity Cripps' but there was little he or any leading politician could do to fundamentally change the nature of dock work for years to come.

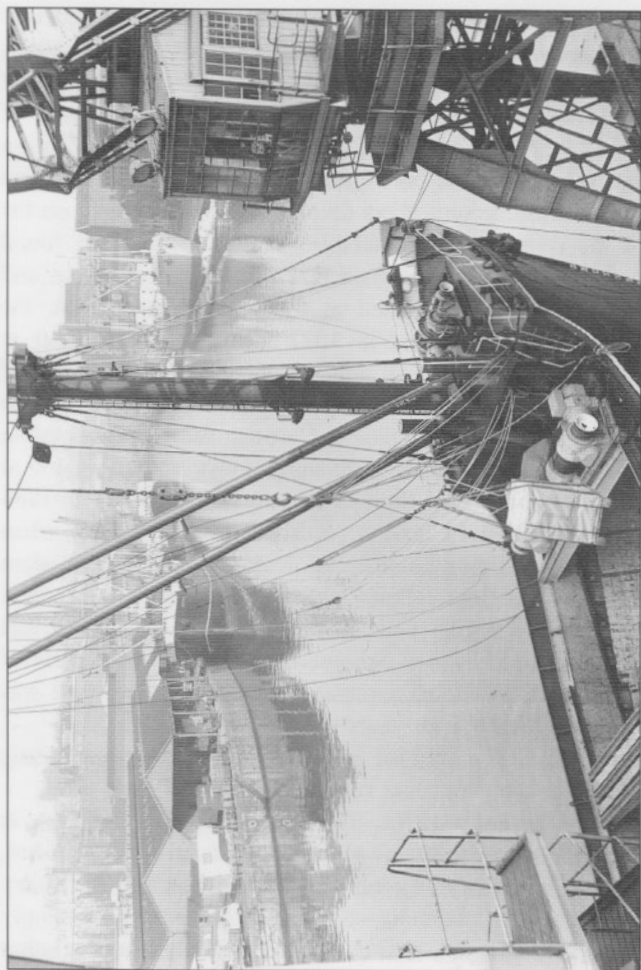
After the War, the City Dock was designated for 'coastwise' traffic from around the United Kingdom although a transatlantic service was maintained by Bristol City Line steamships which resolutely continued to operate from berths at Canon's Marsh to New York and Montreal. Even before the Second World War, these modest coal-fired ships had been something of an anachronism on the route and given the nickname 'north Atlantic tugboats'. Their owners, Charles Hill & Sons (the old-established local family firm of shipbuilders), finally moved the line to Avonmouth in the 1950s as soon as they were able to afford several much larger, albeit second-hand, diesel-powered ships. One of their coal-fired vessels, which they had built for themselves in 1895, was kept in service until 1955! The human history of Bristol as a port has been described as being 'as odd as its geographical and economic history'. There was never a real 'dockland' as in some other great ports with a fearsome concentration of rough pubs, brothels and doss-houses. Similarly there was no 'sailors quarter' as such since the majority of seamen on the ships most regularly in the City Dock throughout the 1950s

and '60s were local men with homes in Bedminster or Hotwells or around Portland Square in the St Paul's district where a 'Docklands Settlement' community centre was located. A former Bristol-City Line master, Captain Short, recalled the poignant pre-war memories of local seamen:

'... outward bound from one of its quays on a winter's evening ... steaming slowly past cheerfully lit tramcars and streets, with people hurrying homewards or going out for the evening ... and a few hours later, the flare of the city's lights astern. Bristol had a strong hold on its native seamen. In spite of the rigours of their trade, they were brought home regularly to the old city which each in his own way loved.'

By the late 1960s, there were still some seven miles of quays and wharves in use throughout the port with over 1,300 workers. Many of these and a large proportion of port's dock labour force, still preferred to live in older districts near to the City Docks and travel back and forth to Avonmouth by train or bus. In fact, working 'down de 'mouf' (at Avonmouth in local parlance) was generally still regarded as a step down and there can be no doubt that working in the City Dock, close to its agreeable pubs and varied town life must have always seemed preferable to a stint at one or other of the somewhat bleak and at times windswept rivermouth docks. Of course, ordinary citizens were not encouraged to approach the main quay sides and working areas of the City Dock, which unlike the docks at Avonmouth and Portishead had no clearly defining boundary. It could be a dangerous place and even seamen or unwary dockers were sometimes seriously, occasionally even fatally, injured simply trying to take a short cut past railway wagons being shunted on the maze of crowded railway lines near the Cathedral in Canon's Marsh or the Bristol Harbour Railway on the south side of the City Dock. Sea-going ships, the dockside cranes, busy quayside railway sidings operating 24 hours a day and the armies of dockers and stevedores going about their trade were in full view of anyone who cared to look in any of the central districts of the city until well into the 1960s. It was a remarkable co-existence that doubtless maintained a sense of pride in the city's historic port and links with sea-going trade when in actuality the real post-war business of the port was being done in the far less picturesque and industrialised setting of the rivermouth docks.

The dock at Portishead could be said to have been a mistake from the start. It was beginning to be wound down by 1945 in terms of direct commercial traffic, although the construction alongside the north-west quayside of the region's two main coal-fired electricity generating



Visitors to the City's Industrial Museum on Princes Wharf in the City Dock can look down on exactly this location, photographed in February 1961 from the upper floor of transit shed 'M'. The extent to which St Augustine's Reach looks busy with sea-going coastal traffic is remarkable. Within ten years, however, commercial traffic was all but at an end with the rapid shift to road transport and the City Council had applied to Parliament to end the navigation rights for sea-going ships to the old harbour.

stations in 1929 (Portishead 'A') and 1959 (Portishead 'B') had prolonged the active life the dock and its railway link. However, Portishead Dock proved a valuable extension of the port's facilities during the Second World War, with large amounts of ammunition and explosives able to be transported well away from the main docks at Avonmouth. It then also continued to handle imports of timber, paper pulp and phosphorus throughout the period under review, but frequently handled less tonnage after the War than the City Dock. By the mid-1960s it was obvious to all concerned that it was only a matter of time before it would close. Portishead Dock had come into being as a result of differing ideas of two groups of Bristol merchants as to the best location for a new 'ocean dock' for the port. Some preferred to build this new dock at Portishead in Somerset; others favoured 'Avon's Mouth' on the north bank of the river in Gloucestershire. Both schemes had found financial backing from the rival Bristol & Exeter, Great Western and Midland railway companies. Opened at the end of the 1870s, the Avonmouth Dock was ready first in 1877 followed by its rival at Portishead two years later. It was only through the intervention of Bristol's Lord Mayor at the time, Sir Joseph Dodge Weston, the managing director of the Bristol Wagon & Carriage Works and an astute politician and businessman, that the competing docks in the city and at Portishead and Avonmouth were brought into single ownership in 1884 under the direction of Bristol Corporation. Thereafter until 1989, when the City of Bristol's remaining commercial dock operations were taken over by the new private Bristol Port Company, it enjoyed the unique distinction of being the largest port in the country to be owned and managed by a local authority and benefited from reasonable levels of capital investment and subsidised revenue expenditure when trade was scarce particularly in the difficult years of the Depression.

The docks at Portishead and in the city settled into a period of steady decline after the War and both had reached the end of their effective commercial life by the early 1970s. The last vestiges of commercial shipping took a while longer to slip away altogether from both docks but, for some years, traffic levels had been well below what was necessary to cover their operating and maintenance costs and had been increasingly subsidised by the City Council. The docks at Avonmouth on the other hand went from strength to strength. They had worked at full capacity throughout the Second World War and for many years afterwards. However, in the mid-1950s, they too were clearly about to fall behind by not being able to accommodate the ever larger and increasingly specialised bulk-cargo carriers coming into general service world-wide. The war had demonstrated the need and scope for change in many areas

of the country's port and shipping operations including better design and construction of cargo ships and far more efficient methods of mechanical and bulk handling of cargo. It had laid the groundwork for carrying high value goods in secure and robust standard containers and the use of 'roll-on-roll-off' vessels for transporting motorised vehicles and quicker loading of certain other types of cargo. Most importantly it confirmed the need for both ship and dock facilities to be increasingly dedicated to specific types of cargo after the style of oil tankers or bulk iron ore carriers which had been built since before the First World War to carry their cargo between terminals designed to handle, store and distribute that specific product. The Port of Bristol Authority had been anticipating these trends well before the Second World War and its bulk grain, petroleum, zinc ore and phosphate fertilizer handling and storage facilities were always ahead of their time. Even the Bristol Corporation Granary on Princes Wharf in the City Dock was equipped with the most advanced bulk handling equipment in the world when it opened in 1887. Nevertheless, by the mid-1950s the P.B.A., like all major port authorities, came under relentless pressure to provide dedicated berths for ever larger and increasingly specialised ships and cargoes and invest in yet more sophisticated mechanical handling equipment.

Standardised steel containers clearly spelt the end of much of the traditional mixed cargo traffic that the port of Bristol had been so good at handling and which became the mainstay of the City Dock after the War. One of the port's oldest cargo carriers, the Bristol General Steam Navigation Company, took the first steps in 1968 to adapt to containerised traffic when they modified one of their modest fleet of locally-built vessels *Apollo* specifically to carry containers as in current modern practice, stacked in layers and bolted to the deck. The firm installed a new crane at its berth on Princes Wharf although on several occasions it had to resort to using the nearby ninety-year old 35-ton steam crane by Stothert & Pitt of Bath, which did not sit well with the progressive image it was trying to generate! However, Fyffes banana terminal at 'N' Shed at Avonmouth Dock had recently closed in 1967 with the transfer of the port's banana and tropical fruit importing operations elsewhere. When first installed in the 1920s, this also had been the most advanced cargo berth in any British port, with mechanical elevators for the bananas which were then still shipped as whole stems cut from the plants. A 'merry-go-round' track speeded up the loading of special trains of steam-heated banana vans. However, with the demise of this traffic, in part due to new methods of packing the fruit at source into cardboard boxes instead of transporting them as whole stems, the redundant terminal was dismantled by the Port Authority and replaced in

the early 1970s by the port's first properly equipped container handling terminal. This was set up by Bristol General Steam Navigation Company who moved this side of their operations from the City Dock. Also, the Bristol City Line, operating out of Avonmouth since the early 1950s, acquired an interest in the late 1960s in a modern large-scale transatlantic container ship. However, these were only very modest developments by individual cargo-operators. If Bristol was going to continue as a major international port then, once again, as in 1902, it needed to make a major investment in a new dock or somehow radically expand one of its existing rivermouth docks. Avonmouth was still relatively busy and the notion of trying to create a new container dock without seriously disrupting the port's existing business was soon discounted by port officials who had concluded by 1955 that the best option would be to extend the port into the area of north Somerset between the mouth of the Avon and Portishead.

The first land in the parish of Portbury was bought in 1958. Subsequently the City Council's Docks Committee purchased most of area between Portishead Dock and the village of Pill, bounded by the branch line to Portishead and the Avon and Severn rivers. By 1962, the Rochdale Committee had noted in its report to Parliament on the major Ports of Great Britain that there were more deep water berths in Antwerp alone than in the entire United Kingdom at this time. The Docks Committee finally decided it must build a new dock for the port of Bristol at Portbury after visiting the German port of Hamburg. Its initial £27 million pound scheme was submitted to the then Labour government's Minister of Transport in May 1964 only to be rejected some two years later. A revised proposal for a smaller £15 million pound Bristol West Dock, although prepared in collaboration with the National Ports Commission, was also rejected in July 1968. Undaunted, the Docks Committee pressed on and this time received the go-ahead in November 1970 from the new Conservative Minister for Transport Industries, the Rt. Hon. John Peyton, for a revised West Dock plan which promised further savings in construction costs by using new civil engineering techniques. Work began on 2 May 1972 on what turned out to be the largest construction project of its kind in Europe at the time.

Some 6,000 feet (1,830 metres) of concrete quay walls over sixty feet tall were built to enclose 70 acres (28 hectares) of water to a depth of 45 feet (13.72 metres). The entrance lock, the biggest in the country, was in itself a major piece of civil engineering as had been the entrance to the Royal Edward Dock at Avonmouth at the beginning of the century. 1,200 feet (366 metres) long by 140 feet (42.7 metres) wide, it was over a third larger than its Edwardian counterpart, and although intended for

vessels of some 70,000 dead-weight tons, it has in recent years regularly given access to bulk carriers of over 120,000 dead-weight tons. The construction of these massive quays and entrance lock was speeded up by first excavating deep trenches in the ground. To prevent them collapsing, a thick slurry of powdered bentonite and water was pumped in. This avoided the need for costly and time consuming shuttering and the slurry could be easily displaced by pouring in the concrete which when set formed the walls of new dock. Six million cubic yards of soil were later excavated from inside the dock basin with massive mechanical shovels and lorries and spread uniformly around the outside of the dock to a depth of several metres creating level areas of sub-soil over 200 metres wide on which working areas, storage sheds and cargo-handling facilities could be built. The new dock was filled with water for the first time in September 1975, and a little under two years later, the first sea-going vessel to officially enter, a German coaster *Edith Sabban* brought in its holds the new dock's first major piece of quayside equipment, a £1.3 million Belgian-made container crane. In 1976, H.M. Queen Elizabeth II officially named the new dock 'Royal Portbury' during an historic ceremony at which Bristol's Lord Mayor, Cllr. Edward Wright, gave special mention to the fact that Bristolians had entirely paid for the new Dock themselves without the help of any central government funding. Although cheered by the assembled crowds on the day, this was to hang heavy round the neck of the City Council for the next two decades.

As so often seems the case with modern-day construction and engineering projects, the cost of the new dock far exceeded its original estimate and left the City Council's Docks Committee with a capital debt of over £45 million which, although a massive sum, was nevertheless entirely comparable to the level of investment Bristol had made in its port several times in the previous two centuries. The Floating Harbour of the early nineteenth century, the first rivermouth docks of the 1870s and the Royal Edward Dock in 1908 had each required capital investment on a comparable scale. The debt charges of the port in Edwardian times for example had to be scheduled for repayment over sixty years up to 1969 reflecting the considerable time it takes to build up sufficient traffic through any major new dock installation to the point where net revenue profits are not only just covering annual operating costs, but allowing steady repayment of the money borrowed to build it in the first instance. Given also that it had taken over twenty years to plan and construct Royal Portbury, by the time the first commercial vessel entered in April 1978, further fluctuations in the world's shipping industry had occurred. The Port of Bristol Authority made much of the

proximity of Royal Portbury to the country's new motorway network (half a mile away from the M5) adapting its pre-war 'Gateway of Empire' slogan to read 'The Gateway and Greatway into Britain' adding somewhat in desperation 'And Out to the World'. No-one could fault the new dock either for its technical facilities, ready access for the most modern large-scale cargo vessels or excellent inland transport network via the motorways, but the country's containerised traffic had largely shifted across to the east coast ports like Immingham on the Humber and Felixstowe in East Anglia with their short sea links across the North Sea to all the major Continental ports. West coast ports like Bristol and Liverpool (which had also invested heavily in its Seaforth container dock) were left floundering to establish enough regular business for their new docks in the ever-changing and increasingly competitive international shipping industry.

The next twenty years were to be 'touch-and-go' for the Port of Bristol and establishing the new Royal Portbury Dock effectively drained the local economy of all its reserves and then much of its capital stock. The details of this story must be left for a future study in this series but it is every bit as dramatic as earlier phases of the port's history. As for the City Docks, the effect of the development of the West Dock was to abruptly curtail any further investment after 1964 when the City Council bought a 60 feet wide strip of land along the length of Wapping Railway Wharf from the British Railways Board to rebuild the quay. It was to be the last investment of any kind in the capital infrastructure of the old port. Wapping Wharf was modernised with three railway tracks and a series of Stothert & Pitt's latest DD2 mobile 3-ton electric cranes spanning the quayside track. The primary purpose was to facilitate the unloading of Russian and Scandinavian ships bringing softwood timber from the Baltic region. The trade continued for just another decade with the last imports of timber arriving in 1974. A small amount of general cargo had continued to arrive at the adjoining Princes Wharf for transhipment through 'M' and 'L' sheds, now home since 1978 to the City's Industrial and Maritime Museum. The few remaining dockers working these last vestiges of trade through the City Dock retired to talk about better and busier times over a few pints in the Dockers' Club on Welsh Back. Some of the younger men carried on as best they might at Avonmouth which remained reasonably busy despite the divergence of effort and resources to the West Dock scheme.

One of the most remarkable features of the old port right up to the end of its days as a commercial harbour was the sight of sizeable sea-going ships negotiating raised or swung bridges at several points on their way to the berths near the centre of the city. The system of locks and

moveable bridges that made this possible was in essence the one built at the start of the nineteenth century. It had simply been modernised from time to time although still essentially following its original plan. The introduction of hydraulic machinery in the 1870s to operate lock gates, swing-bridges and some of the many quayside cranes was a considerable improvement and the City Dock engineering department had its headquarters and extensive workshop facilities located at the late-Victorian Underfall Yard, the site of the main dam which had been built across the Avon to create the non-tidal Floating Harbour. As a precaution against war-time air raids on the City draining the entire system, the outer gates of the two secondary sets of entrance locks at Bathurst Basin near the General Hospital and at Totterdown close to the main railway station and goods depot at Temple Meads were closed off with rubble and earth. They were never re-opened as the amount of coastal shipping and barge traffic using these secondary entrances had become minimal before the War. However, several busy road bridges crossed the harbour in the area of the main entrance locks at Cumberland Basin and at Prince Street and Redcliffe and these had to continue to be both maintained and operated throughout the 1950s and 60s. The cost became increasingly significant items of expenditure for the Port of Bristol Authority as the revenue from commercial sea-going traffic using the City Dock declined rapidly. The roads at Cumberland Basin had also become a major bottleneck when the bridges were swung to allow ships to enter or leave the harbour, holding up traffic on one of the City's busiest commuter and commercial roads. The City Council's Development Plan of 1956 had provided for considerable expenditure on road construction including implementing the final sections of the pre-war inner ring road and an ambitious multi-level road layout at Cumberland Basin. Completed in April 1964, the Cumberland Basin scheme featured a new electrically operated four-lane swing bridge named after one of Bristol's famous sons, Samuel Plimsoll. With an ingenious series of elevated approach roads incorporating an existing swing bridge across the Junction Lock, the scheme allowed traffic to continue moving albeit at reduced speeds with the minimum of delay when the bridges needed to be opened to allow a sea-going vessel to enter or leave the harbour. Although by the time the new Cumberland Basin bridges and roads were ready, the City Dock still had eighteen operational berths and a similar number of transit sheds and warehouses, the number of ships prepared to make the difficult journey along the river Avon was rapidly declining.

By 1974 the City Dock had contracted to just four operational berths, two sheds and a handful of cranes. With the exception of locally dredged sand, the end had arrived. There was to be no more commercial sea-

going shipping after the mid-1970s and the contentious scheme put forward by the City Council in 1970 to close the City Dock as a commercial harbour seemed to have been right all along. Certainly the last vestiges of commercial shipping related activity in the City Dock, such as the sand and Baltic timber trades and Charles Hill & Sons shipbuilding yard, might have shut down at any time in the 1960s or relocated to Avonmouth. Popular sentiment ran high however, and the notion of there no longer being any sea-going ships operating from the City Dock prompted many letters to the local newspapers and opposition to the City Council's quite sensible proposals to call it a day and close the Dock. With hindsight, the Council in its role as the Port Authority could be criticised for spending money on improving Wapping Railway Wharf and completing the Cumberland basin scheme in 1964. There was little enough commercial justification for it, but in many ways the period was one of great uncertainty and indecision not just for Bristol but the country as a whole. The anticipated post-war slump in trade and manufacturing had not materialised and the country's economy was continuing to grow and prosper at record levels. This unexpected boom was to last until 1973. It masked a more fundamental change that was overtaking Britain as a nation, namely the loss of its role as a world political and trading 'superpower' at the head of modern history's greatest colonial Empire. Much of this trade with the British Empire had been handled by the Port of Bristol with its once proud trading slogan of the 'Gateway to Empire' For a while after the War, it seemed as if those trading links with the countries of the Empire and Commonwealth might resume and continue as before, but the decline was so rapid that few could anticipate its effects and plan accordingly. The Port of Bristol Authority proved, again with hindsight, to be one of the more forward-looking of the country's port operators and pressed on to achieve its hard-won West Dock scheme, without which the port would have declined probably to extinction.

How to adapt the extensive areas of water and derelict quays of the City Dock to fulfil a new role as the focal point for the modern city was urgently debated during the 1970s and 80s. Eventually a range of museums, galleries, shops, restaurants and leisure facilities and houses was developed, many re-using former dock buildings. A variety of popular events such as the annual Harbour Regatta also began to draw large crowds to the former commercial dock. The regeneration process continues to the present time with plans emerging for a major Harbourside scheme at Canon's Marsh. Some commercial activities remain and are concentrated in the vicinity of the Albion Dockyard Estate including the fabrication of welded steel sea-going boats and

fishing craft by David Abel. Numerous offices are located alongside the quays and the city's main shopping district at Broadmead is within a few minutes walk of the upper reaches of the old harbour upstream of Bristol Bridge. Various ferry and pleasure boat services provide popular tours of the dock for visitors and commuter services for city workers travelling to the railway station or dockside residential districts by boat. Water sports including rowing, wind-surfing, dinghy sailing and water-skiing are actively provided for and the Industrial Museum's steam-tug *Mayflower* regularly operates in the City Dock giving passenger trips, serving as a reminder of Bristol's harbour in former commercial days. Final consolation for these difficult years of change and decline might be had from the fact that the Bristol's remaining commercial docks at Avonmouth and Portbury continue to develop and prosper under the management of the Bristol Port Company and the port's overall position in the league table of major British docks has steadily improved. The City Dock, although still requiring much capital investment to complete as the City's central leisure, business and housing district, judging by what has already been achieved is already highly acclaimed and providing a model for others to follow adding a new twist to the time-honoured notion of 'Shipshape and Bristol Fashion'.

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The Church of England and the City of Bristol: change, retreat and decay - reform, revival and renewal?¹

M.J. CROSSLEY EVANS

'The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing Religion as she descended from Heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed upon the historian ...'

Edward Gibbon (1737-1794)

Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter XV

The period under consideration encompassed the most extensive changes in the history of the diocese; changes caused by the huge social upheavals of the first and second world wars, the ever increasing trend for the population to move from the centre to the suburbs, coupled with slum clearance and the creation of new housing estates, and the alteration of the southern boundary of the diocese with that of its neighbour, Bath and Wells. The change in diocesan boundaries mirrored the expansion of the city boundaries, with the development of housing estates to the south, and the clearance of slums in the centre. Well-churched parts of the city found themselves with much reduced populations, and the new estates had either inconveniently situated or no parish churches. Coupled to these developments was an acute decline in church attendance; a church going population whose age profile was slanted to the mature and elderly; a decline in the number of Sunday Schools² and Church Schools, the latter coming in the wake of the 1944 Education Act; a decline in vocations in the 1940s and early 1950s; and a desire in the late 1960s amongst the young, and some older churchmen, for liturgical experimentation. This culminated in the marginalisation of the traditional basis of the Church of England (the 39 Articles, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *Authorised Version of the Bible*), in favour of the *New English Bible* (1970), and the *Alternative Service Book* (1980). Their introduction alienated a small vocal minority from the church and its ministry.³ The 1960s saw a greater spirit of ecumenism, the rise of Anglo-Methodist dialogue and the lessening of the nineteenth and early twentieth century hostility between the Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic wings of the church as they faced common enemies. This is essentially the history of the management of decline.

During this time great changes also took place in the way in which the clergy were paid. In 1937/8 there were huge variations in salary.⁴ The top dozen stipends in Bristol were: St Mary Redcliffe (£1,346); Westbury-on-Trym (£1,039); Temple (£773); Christ Church, Clifton (£731); St James, Haymarket and St John the Baptist (£674); St Andrew, Clifton (£600); St Paul's, Clifton (£597); Holy Nativity, Knowle (£588); All Saints', Corn Street (£585); St Nicholas, Bristol Bridge and St Leonard (£575); St Mary Magdalene, Stoke Bishop (£548); and Christ Church with St Ewen, City (£530). All were situated in the city centre or the wealthier suburbs. In contrast, the poorest livings were generally situated in the poorer and more populous parts of the City: St Stephen, City (£209); St John, Bedminster (£216); St Raphael, Cumberland Road (£250); St Gregory, Horfield (£252); Christ Church, Hengrove (£275); St Michael, Two Mile Hill (£280); and St Dunstan, Bedminster (£291).⁵

The marked disparity in stipends created princes and paupers, and this inequity was not finally addressed until The Endowments and Glebe Measure (1976), which centralised the resources for the payment of stipends, and led to the process of equalisation. In the 1950s £500 - £550 p.a. was regarded as a minimum stipend. The lack of pensions in all but a few cases in the 1940s and 1950s caused difficulties for clergy, and their widows and orphans. The Clergy Pensions Measures of 1961/69 made provision for occupational pensions at 68, or, for the man who retired before reaching that age, on the 'ground that he has become incapable through infirmity of performing the duties of his office'. Until 1976, parochial clergy commonly held their livings until death or until they could afford to retire.

Successive bishops were keen to expand their rights of patronage and to gain maximum flexibility in the movements of their clergy. In 1937-8, the Bishop of Bristol was the patron of almost half of the 93 livings in the Deaneries of Bedminster, City, Clifton, and East Bristol; a figure that gradually increased over time as the diocese received the surrender of the rights of patronage held by other bodies and by the laity. (See Figure 1.) While the rights of patrons whose churches were destroyed during the air raids were protected, and the patrons offered rights of patronage over some of the new churches built on the housing estates, there were repeated attacks on the clergy's security of tenure or 'the parson's freehold'. This manifested itself in a tendency to issue 'suspension of presentation' orders upon the retirement of incumbents, often initially for a period of five years or, if the fate of the parish was uncertain, until its future was decided. The clerks in holy orders who served these cures as priests-in-charge were generally resident in their parishes for much shorter periods than traditional incumbents. Dr Oliver Tomkins, writing

in the *Diocesan Gazette* in December 1971, stated that the Diocesan Pastoral Committee preferred the priest-in-charge option 'under the modern conditions of manpower and social change', and then rather disingenuously claimed such options didn't affect individual parish life. Another popular erosion of the parson's freehold was the introduction of 'Team Rectors', made possible by the New Pastoral Measure of 1968, which created Team Ministries. Team Rectors only enjoyed the leasehold of their parishes for ten years, although extensions were possible. If clergymen enjoyed the freehold, in the rare cases where there were serious clerical lapses or peccadilloes, the Bishop was powerless to intervene. A few difficult cases were used as a weapon to further episcopal control over the clergy.

Figure 1: Patrons of Bristol Livings in 1937/38

Patron	Deanery				
	Bedminster	City	Clifton	E. Bristol	Total
The Bishop	18	-	14	14	46
The Bristol Trustees	2	9	-	2	13
Various Trustees	-	-	7	-	7
The Bishop and the Crown <i>alternately</i>	1	1	2	-	4
The Dean and Chapter	-	4	-	-	4
Society for the Maintenance of the Faith	-	-	3	1	4
The Lord Chancellor	-	1	-	1	2
Keble College	1	-	-	-	1
The Missions to Seamen*	-	1	-	-	1
The Revd Canon R.T.M.A. Cole	-	1	-	-	1
Vicar of St Mary, Tyndall Park	-	-	1	-	1
Vicar of All Saints', City	-	-	-	1	1
Vicar of St Luke, Barton Hill	-	-	-	1	1
The Hon. Mrs Smyth	-	-	-	1	1
Rector of Stapleton	-	-	-	1	1
Vicar of SS Philip & Jacob	-	-	-	1	1
Vicar of Holy Trinity, St Philip's	-	-	-	1	1
Total	22	19	27	26	94

* non-parochial

The numerous changes in the boundaries of the diocese and the deaneries since 1945, and church closures and parish amalgamations, mean that a comparable chart cannot easily be compiled for the 1960s.

Internal notes from Church House in the 1960s and 1970s were often couched in the increasingly fashionable 'management-speak' of the period, with church buildings stripped of any association of reverence and referred to merely as 'plant'. The tremendous changes to the manpower in the diocese were managed by a succession of Archdeacons, including William Welchman, Leslie Alford, Ivor Watkins, and Percy George Reddick (1896-1979), the various secretaries to the powerful Board of Finance, including Leslie Alford, Percy Reddick, and Harry Drury, and a number of other officers such as Howard Dudley Salmon (1915-2000), the diocesan trust officer and accountant, who was well-known for his ability to calm members of the clergy outraged by the tenor and contents of various memos from Archdeacon Reddick or Mr Drury.⁶

The diocesan officials were often less than charitable in their dealings with individual clergymen if they were believed to stand in the way of administrative developments or 'progress'. For example, it is recounted that when the diocese decided that it wanted to close Christ Church with St Ewen's, Broad Street, the then Archdeacon summoned the rector, the Revd Hugh Bellasis Roden (1886-1970), and told him bluntly, 'Roden you must go!' Unable to bear this treatment from a friend, and the pressure, overt and covert, from diocesan officials and senior clergy, he resigned.⁷ His friend, the Revd Walter Charles Milton Winter, of Christ Church, Clifton, was more litigiously minded and had recourse to his solicitor.⁸ He finally vacated his living in exchange for one in Salisbury and the diocese of Bristol was obliged to make up the difference in his stipend. Mrs Roden Ryder, in her paper entitled, *What Bishop Cockin did to my parents*, states that her father capitulated only 'after bullying, ostracism and misery ... his livelihood, happiness, and ministry taken from him.' He was 'left with a pension of £200 p.a., no work, no stipend'.⁹

To achieve their administrative ends, Bishop Cockin and his Archdeacons felt that it was necessary to place humanity and personal consideration for their clergy in a secondary position. For the good of the church and for its survival, (as they saw it), many of the decencies that one gentleman could expect from another were sacrificed on the altar of expediency. Consequently, the emphasis on the church and the diocese, rather than on the incumbent, the parish and parishioners, negated the old ties; the higher clergy had found a new morality and incumbents, who swore the oath of canonical obedience to their bishop and his successors, now found that there was no such thing as reciprocal obligation which could be relied upon. In a climate where obfuscation, lack of candour, hidden motives and lack of humanity flourished, can the resultant

problems, and claims of 'bad faith' made by clergy and laity alike against the diocese, be wondered at?¹⁰ These 'new' management techniques, borrowed from industry, were felt by those at the top to be good for the church, but the lack of professionalism revealed in their handling of such matters as the closure of Christ Church, Barton Hill, showed they had a great deal to learn, and alienated clergy and laity alike. The human cost of these techniques, to clergymen, their families, and faithful members of the laity, cannot be calculated.

The older clergy were ill adapted to the new and more ruthless management styles. Gentlemen by virtue of their education and calling, they were frequently unable to withstand tactics, which might today be termed bullying and intimidation. As always, those who suffered most were usually the clergy wives, overworked, often undervalued, unpaid, and trying to keep up the appearance of gentility in large, unheated parsonages, without help. If anyone thinks that this picture, which is based on many recollections of former clergymen, clergy wives and children, is overdrawn, I refer them to Beverley Nichols's excellent book *A Pilgrim's Progress* (1952),¹¹ which captures the life of many of the clergy in the early 1950s, and which no doubt drew on his brother's experiences as a parish priest. It should be remarked, perhaps, that Nichols was no stranger to Bristol, as his paternal grandfather and uncle were well-known auctioneers based in Small Street, and that he was a frequent visitor to the city in the first half of the century.

One of the other problems facing the diocese was the marked decline in the 1940s and early 1950s in the number of vocations. This manifested itself at first in a shortage of curates, and a decline in the amount of pastoral work that many of the parishes could accomplish. As the number of younger clergymen decreased so the age profile of the clerical body became increasingly 'top heavy'. It was not until the 1975 Ecclesiastical Offices (Age Limit) Measure that compulsory retirement at the age of 70 was introduced. This, at one and the same time, put increased pressure on resources for pensions, and on manpower to fill the vacancies that were created, although, as clergymen inducted into their livings before the Act came into force were exempted, the full effects were delayed. Nonetheless, the long incumbencies and the security and continuity represented by men such as the Revd G.H.W. Elwell at St George's, East Bristol (1914-1967), Canon P. Gay at St George's, Brandon Hill (1930-1975), Canon G.B. Havard Perkins at St Andrew's, Montpelier (1904-1957), the Revd W.G. Hebert Thomas at St Stephen's, City (1918-1956), Archdeacon W. Welchman at Temple (1907-1941), Dr H.J. Wilkins at Westbury (1900-1940), and Canon G.W.L. Wynne at Holy Nativity Knowle (1927-1958), became increasingly rare.

A comparison between Figure 2 and Figure 3 illustrates the decline in clerical manpower between the 1937/38 and the beginning of 1982, and shows a 44% decrease in manpower over 45 years. The present Bishop has shown that within these years there were decades (the 1950s and 1960s) when, nationally, there were increases in the number of ordinands, (see Figure 4). The Bishop of Malmesbury, in a letter dated 1983, stated that 48% of the clergy in the diocese were then over 50 years of age. Another feature of the period was the rise of the clerical non-stipendiary or auxiliary ministry which came to play an increasingly important part in 'filling the gaps' caused by a shortage of clergy. The role of lay assistants must not be forgotten, although, due to a lack of data, a direct comparison of their numerical strength is not possible pre- and post-war.

Figure 2: Clerical Manpower in Bristol - Parochial Clergy and Curates in Bristol 1937/38

Rural Deanery	Mission Chapels ^b	Parochial Clergy	Curates	Total
Bedminster	3	22	23	45
City	-	19 ^a	3	22
Clifton	3	27	21	48
East Bristol	4	26	18	44
Total	10	94	65	159

^a excludes the Cathedral and the Lord Mayor's Chapel, includes Seamen's Church

^b some are not listed in the *Bristol Diocesan Directory* for 1937/8

Total 94 parochial clergy and 93 churches.

Figure 3: Parochial Clergy and Curates in Bristol 1982 (excluding parishes outside deaneries as they existed above, but including new churches)¹²

Rural Deanery	No. of Churches	Parochial Clergy ^a	Curates	Honorary Curates	Total
Bedminster	10	6	6	4	16
Brislington	10 ^b	10	1	2	13
City	16	8	-	2	10
Horfield	10 ^c	8	3	2	13
Clifton	8 ^d	8	2	3	13
Westbury and Severnside	7 ^e	6	3	2	11
Stapleton	6 ^f	5	1	1	7
Bitton	8 ^g	5	1	-	6
Total	75	56	17	16	89

- ^a Incumbent, Priest in Charge, Vicar, does not include vacancies.
- ^b Excluding Whitchurch.
- ^c Excluding Filton, Stoke Gifford.
- ^d Excluding Leigh Woods.
- ^e Including Avonmouth; Sea Mills; St Edyth; St Peter; Lawrence Weston; Shirehampton; Southmead; Stoke Bishop and Westbury-on-Trym.
- ^f Including St Thomas and St Ann, Eastville; All Saints', St John and St Mary, Fishponds; and Stapleton.
- ^g Including East Bristol Team Ministry (St Ambrose, Whitehall; St Aidan, Crews Hole; St George, East Bristol; St Leonard, Redfield; and St Matthew, Moorfields), Kingswood, Holy Trinity and the Church of the Ascension, and St Michael, Two Mile Hill.

In the opening meeting of the Diocesan Pastoral Committee on 17 February 1950, the Bishop drew the attention of the members to 'the shrinkage in the number of men coming forward for ordination', and a constant theme of every address made to parochial church councils by Archdeacon Reddick in the 1950s and early 1960s was the decline in the numbers of clergy per head of population. In May 1951 the Archdeacon noted that although there were between 350 and 400 ordinations nationally per annum, there were 580 deaths or retirements. Figures for the number of diocesan ordinations between 1938 and 1953 have not yet been found, but between 27 September 1936 and Trinity Sunday 1937, 16 deacons and 15 priests were ordained in the diocese. The present Bishop of Bristol has kindly provided figures showing the total number of ordinations of deacons both nationally and within the diocese, between 1954 and 1965, in Figure 4. The shortage of clergy within the diocese was used as one of the main reasons for the closure of churches in the city in the 1950s. Some days after the *Church Times* of 27 January 1961 announced that the level of ordinations in 1960 was the highest since 1914, the Archdeacon returned to the familiar theme. The embattled parochial church council of St John's Bedminster, who were fighting for the survival of their church, wrote bitterly to the Pastoral Committee and enquired, if the figures in the *Church Times* were correct, 'why had the diocese not benefited from the increase in vocations?' An answer was not forthcoming. The protest of the parochial church council of St Katharine's, Redland against their imminent closure was prophetic when they stated that the current low level of recruitment of men for the ministry was only a 'temporary crisis'.¹³

Figure 4: Deacons Ordained Nationally and in Bristol 1945-1965

Year	Total Ordained Deacons	Total Bristol Ordained Deacons	Year	Total Ordained Deacons	Total Bristol Ordained Deacons
1945	159	No Information Available	1956	481	11
1946	158		1957	478	7
1947	208		1958	514	8
1948	297		1959	512	8
1949	362		1960	601	11
1950	419		1961	594	11
1951	411		1962	625	14
1952	479		1963	628	13
1953	472		1964	604	11
1954	444	10	1965	590	13
1955	446	12			

The decline in those registered on the parish electoral rolls as regular communicants was dramatic. In 1937/38, they numbered 34,483, and in 1982, 12,764, a 63% decrease over 45 years. Seen against such numbers, the decline in the number of clergy has not been as marked, and it might be argued that the members of the electoral rolls in 1982 were better served than they were in 1937/38 with a ratio of 1:217 in 1937/38 and 1:143 in 1982.

The Bishops 1914-1944

The Bishop of Bristol whose episcopate saw the first major changes in the size and structure of the diocese was Dr George Nickson (1864-1949), who held the see between 1914 and 1933.¹⁴ During this period the diocese managed to avoid any parochial reorganisation although numerous new churches were consecrated in the ever expanding suburbs, such as St Edyth, Sea Mills (1921); St Peter, Henleaze (1927); The Church of the Good Shepherd, Bishopston (1927); St Oswald's, Bedminster Down (1927); and St Dunstan, Bedminster (1929). His successor, Dr Woodward continued the work and during his episcopate mission churches were built and provided with ministers: for example, St Hugh, Bedminster (1931); St Barnabas, West Knowle (1934); and St Stephen, Southmead, which was given a Conventional District, in 1936. In the new estate in Knowle, Novers Park, Christian work began at almost the same time that houses were erected. A farm was leased with effect from 1939 and a barn dedicated to St Giles by Dr Woodward in 1940. A new church, Holy Cross, Inns Court, was finally consecrated in 1959.

Dr Clifford Salisbury Woodward (1878-1959) was the first bishop to tackle the thorny questions surrounding the over-provision of churches in parts of Bristol, which had decreasing populations. In 1938 he was able to use the retirement of the senior clergymen in the diocese to effect change and to plan for more. Canon S.F. Alford's retirement from St Andrew-the-Less, Dowry Square, Hotwells, after a ministry of over forty years (1938), was used to effect a merger with Holy Trinity, Hotwells, and St Peter's, Clifton Wood. The incumbents were pensioned, St Peter's demolished and the site sold to the corporation, and the surplus endowments transferred to help the new parish of Christ Church, Hengrove.

The parish of Emmanuel the Unity, St Philip's, some of whose parishioners had been re-housed by the corporation in the suburbs due to slum clearances, was re-absorbed by SS Philip and Jacob and the church was demolished in 1938. Likewise a union was effected in December 1938 between St Augustine-the-Less and its former daughter church, St George's, Brandon Hill, under the Revd Percival Gay. Both churches shared a similar Anglo-Catholic tradition. The retirement of Canon R.T.M.A. Cole from Christ Church with St Ewen's in 1938 coincided with the retirement of the Venerable William Welchman (1866-1954) as Archdeacon of Bristol, due to ill health. The Venerable Charles Symes Leslie Alford (1885-1963), who was a close friend of and Chaplain to the Bishop, succeeded both men. He served as Secretary to the Diocesan Board of Finance between 1929 and 1938. Although he had little previous parochial experience, he could be relied upon to zealously further the parochial reorganisation which was required in the diocese. At this time, the union of Christ Church with St Ewen with All Saints', Corn Street was being considered, and the latter's Select Vestry was urging the closure, or the closure and demolition of Christ Church, which was later endorsed by the Bishop's commission on the future of the city churches. It is interesting to speculate upon what the stance of the new incumbent to these recommendations would have been had not the outbreak of war intervened, and brought the immediate plans for reorganisation to an abrupt close.

The only other parish that disappeared at this time was St Matthias-on-the-Weir, the fate of which was determined by extensive slum clearances. A scheme was passed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in June 1937, by which the church, which could seat 800, but which had an electoral roll then numbering 55, was closed in June 1940, and its endowment divided among six of the poorest parishes in the diocese. Before the building could be dismantled, however, and the site sold, it had been used as a mortuary during the air raids of 1940, an A.R.P. general store, and a warehouse. The parish was united to St Jude's, and the church was finally demolished in 1949.

The War Years 1939-1945

The plans of the Bishop for tidy, civilized, and efficient reorganisation of the parishes in the city and county along the lines of need and churchmanship were effectively ruined by the outbreak of war. The realignment was only finally completed when the reorganisation of the city-centre parishes was confirmed on appeal by Order of the Privy Council in 1984. Archdeacon Reddick was reported to have said, on more than one occasion, that the Luftwaffe air raids had removed only some of the problem churches in the diocese and that he was sorry that they had not left the diocese with a rather freer hand in the post-war reconstruction.

The blitz totally destroyed 15 Anglican churches in the city and damaged many more during the air raids on 24/25 November, 2/3 and 6/7 December 1940, 3/4 January, 26/27 February, 16/17 March, and 11/12 April 1941.

Figure 5: Church of England Churches in Bristol Destroyed or Damaged in the Blitz, 1940-1941¹⁵

Totally Destroyed

All Saints, Clifton	2 December 1940	Rebuilt 1967
Holy Nativity, Knowle	24 November 1940	Rebuilt 1958
Holy Trinity, Hotwells	3 January 1941	Rebuilt 1958
St Andrew, Avonmouth	16-17 April 1941	Temporary church re-dedicated 19 June 1942, rebuilt
St Andrew, Clifton	24 November 1940	Not rebuilt
St Anselm, Whatley Road	24 November 1940	Not rebuilt
St Clement, Newfoundland Road	9-10 April 1941	Not rebuilt
St Francis, Ashton Gate	2 December 1940 and 11 April 1941	Rebuilt 1951-1953
St John, Bedminster	24 November 1940	Not rebuilt
St Mary le Port, City	24 November 1940	Not rebuilt
St Nicholas, Bristol Bridge	24 November 1940	Re-roofed but not used as a church
St Paul, Bedminster	10/11 April 1941	Rebuilt 1958
St Peter, City	24 November 1940	Not rebuilt
St Silas, St Philip's Marsh	3 January 1941	Not rebuilt
Temple, Temple Street	24 November 1940	Not rebuilt

Badly Damaged

Bristol Cathedral	24 November, 2 December 1940, 3/4 January, 10/11 April 1941	
St Anne, St Anne's Park	4 September 1940	Re-opened 1941
St Augustine-the-Less		Not re-opened, demolished 1962
St Barnabas, Ashley Road	17 March 1941	Re-opened 12 June 1943
St Michael and All Angels on the Mount Without	16 March 1941	Re-opened 13 July 1941
St Raphael, Cumberland Road		Not re-opened
The Seamen's Church & Institute, Prince Street	2 December 1940	Rebuilt on a reduced scale June 1943, seating 200 rather than 300.

Damaged

All Hallows	St Chad, Patchway	St Mary, Redcliffe
All Saints, City	St Cuthbert, Brislington	St Mary, Tyndall's Park
Christ Church, Barton Hill	St George, Brandon Hill	St Michael, Bishopston
Christ Church with St Ewen's, City	St John, Clifton	St Michael, Two Mile Hill
Holy Trinity, St Philip's	St John the Baptist, City	St Paul, Portland Square
St Agnes	St Lawrence, Easton	St Philip & St Jacob
St Aldhelm	St Luke, Barton Hill	St Simon
St Ambrose	St Luke, Brislington	St Stephen, City
St Barnabas, Knowle	St Mark (the Lord Mayor's Chapel)	St Thomas the Martyr

The Bishop was rendered homeless in the air raids but he was still able to turn his attention to diocesan matters, the most significant of which were the creation of the parish of Christ Church, Hengrove (1940); the establishment of the parish of Redland (1941), formerly a daughter church of Westbury-on-Trym, after the death of the scholarly Dr H.J. Wilkins; the division of the parish of the damaged church of St Raphael, Cumberland Road, between Holy Trinity, Hotwells and St Mary Redcliffe (1942); and the union of the parish of the destroyed church of St Clement with St Paul's Portland Square (1943). Both the latter had small residential parishes.

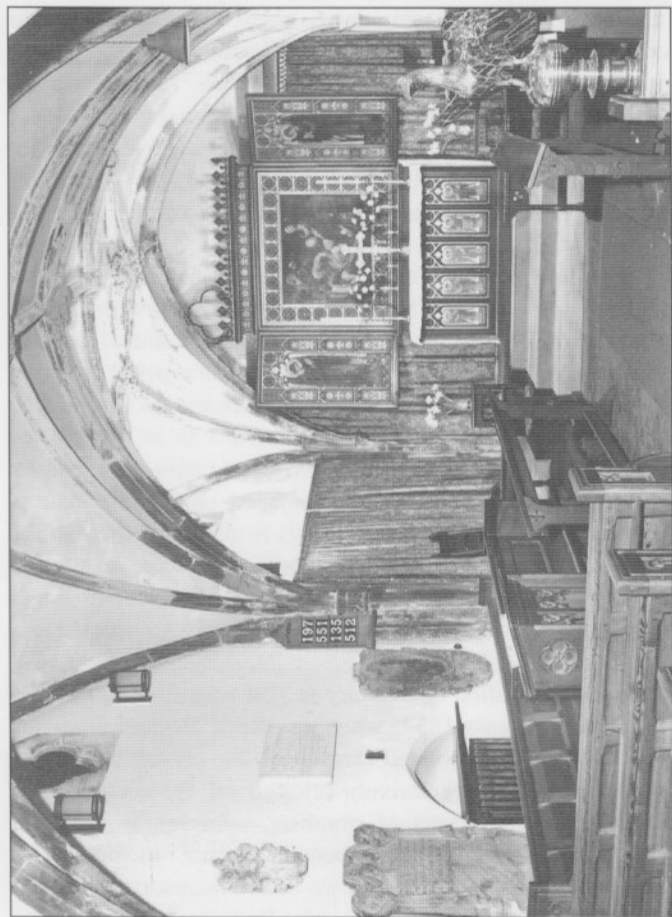
At this critical juncture in the history of the diocese, Dr Woodward was translated to the bishopric of Gloucester. There was a delay in the appointment of a successor, and Dr Frederic Arthur Cockin (1888-1969), formerly a Canon of St Paul's, was not installed as the 51st Bishop of Bristol until July 1946.¹⁶ Dr Cockin was a man of great educational, but little parochial experience, which was largely confined to the University church in Oxford, St Mary's. Dr Cockin was the personal choice of Dr Geoffrey Fisher (1887-1972) the new Archbishop of Canterbury, who had difficulty in talking the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, around to his point of view.¹⁷ His twelve years as bishop were a difficult and demanding time for clergy and people alike as the Bishop struggled to grasp the demands and challenges posed by the ruined city churches, the reorganisation of parishes, and the building of new churches.

The City Centre Churches 1944-1984

In 1944, Dr Woodward called the incumbents of the churches destroyed in the early years of the war to a meeting and informed them that, at the cessation of hostilities, his first priority would be to continue the provision of churches for the new housing estates in Swindon, Chippenham, and Bristol. He launched an appeal for £200,000 to finance

both the new churches and the rebuilding. Shortage of building materials in the post-war period led to long delays in the first rebuilding programme. Between 1951 and 1958, six of the fifteen churches that had been totally destroyed were rebuilt.

The Diocesan Reorganisation Committee, formed as a result of the Reorganisation Areas Measure in 1944, looked at the provision of churches in three distinct areas: Clifton, Temple, and City.¹⁸ Under the parameters laid down by Dr Woodward and followed by Dr Cockin, there was no case whatever for rebuilding any of the city churches,¹⁹ yet many of the churches had senior and well-respected incumbents, wealthy select vestries, and influential worshippers who did not accept the Bishop's arguments on this matter. The Measure was not sufficient to deal with many of the prevailing problems. The Church Assembly passed the Pastoral Reorganisation Measure in 1949 and Dr Cockin subsequently established the Pastoral Committee in April 1950, with two sub-committees, one for each archdeaconry, to look systematically and in detail at the problems facing the whole diocese. Their plans were subject to numerous alterations, partly caused by the indecision of the civic authorities in the light of the demands of the 1944 Town & Country Planning Act, and their shifting policy. For example, at different times in the post-war decades, the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee suggested that Christ Church with St Ewen be demolished and the site sold (1946), that it should be the parish hall of the new city benefice (1954), a church museum (1954), and serve the Greek Orthodox Community in Bristol (1958).²⁰ In May 1946, the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee having decided that St Thomas, City, was redundant stated that it 'saw no objection to the demolition of the church, and the sale of the site if it would aid city planning'.²¹ The resignation of Mr Roden from the living of Christ Church with St Ewen, with effect from November 1952, and the suspension of presentation, enabled the diocese to turn its attention to the re-ordering of the city parishes. By 1954 it had negotiated the removal and compensation of the rector of St Stephen, the Revd William George Hebert Thomas, who finally resigned in 1956 and received £565 p.a. and a lump sum of £200. This enabled the diocese to publish draft proposals for a new city benefice, incorporating St Nicholas, St Stephen's, All Saints' and Christ Church. The first rector designate was Canon John Mortimer Duniam Stancomb (1891-1955), the popular and respected vicar of St Nicholas, Bristol Bridge from 1928-1955, who had brought his congregation back from their temporary place of worship, St Augustine-the-Less, to the ruins of St Nicholas, where they worshipped in the crypt. He raised large sums of money to rebuild both St Nicholas and its almshouses. The latter were rebuilt in 1952.



The crypt of St Nicholas, Bristol Bridge, as it was fitted up as a place of worship between the destruction of the church in 1940 and the closure of the crypt. This picture was taken between 1956 and 1958, and a monument to Canon Stancomb, the Vicar from 1928-1955, is on the left wall. By kind permission of Mr Ivor Seward.

Notwithstanding the respect felt for Canon Stancomb, there were strongly worded objections from all three of the parishes which it was intended to subsume in the new city benefice. The patrons of Christ Church objected to the interference with the rights and privileges of the congregation and the 'repression of religious freedom of mode of worship, in spite of financial independence.' One of the patrons, Mr Philip William Hort (1901-1978), objected to the proposed use of the church by the Greek Orthodox community, 'particularly in view of the behaviour of Archbishop Makarios', who was directing unrest in Cyprus against British rule. Union with St Stephen's was resisted by the congregation because 'the nature and form of the services now carried out in the Parish Church of St Stephen are repugnant in character to the worshippers at Christ Church with St Ewen and cannot be tolerated by them.' An enquiry held in February 1958 upheld the objections to the scheme from Christ Church and the parish was uncoupled from the proposals.²² The death of the rector-designate²³ removed the main champion of the continuance of the crypt of St Nicholas as a place of worship, and in 1958 the parishes of St Stephen and St Nicholas were united, and All Saints' was designated a chapel of ease within the new parish.

By 1941 air raids had shattered the nerves of Archdeacon Alford, who suffered a breakdown in health, left Christ Church with St Ewen's and retreated to the comparative safety of Rowberrow to convalesce. Fearful of what might happen to his incendiary-damaged church, the patron, Canon Cole, presented the Revd Hugh Bellasis Roden to the living. The destruction of Temple Church was followed soon after by the resignation of the Revd William Welchman from the living and no successor was appointed. The congregation of St Peter's, Castle Green was largely assimilated by St James's, Haymarket.

The displaced congregation of St Mary le Port was more difficult to accommodate. From at least 1857, when the Revd Samuel Abraham Walker (1809-1879)²⁴ was appointed incumbent, the church had a firm Protestant tradition, which aggressively rejected all the accretions of Anglo-Catholicism and all forms of ritualism, adhering to the post-Laudian seventeenth and eighteenth century forms, including the preaching of the sermon in a Geneva gown rather than a surplice. The church supported the Evangelical Alliance, the Protestant Truth Society, and Bristol's Bible Churchman's College. The congregation, although small, included a number of vocal and influential people amongst its number, including members of the Inskip family. The Bishop responded to the crisis by giving the congregation the church of St John the Baptist-on-the-Wall, much against the wishes both of the vestry and the Anglo-Catholic vestry clerk, Mr Cyril Clarke. St John's had a tiny congregation

that held diametrically opposed doctrinal views to St Mary's.²⁵ The vicar of St Mary le Port, the Revd William Dodgson Sykes, also transferred to St John's and the livings were united. Subsequent efforts by the diocese to extinguish the congregation were bitterly resisted and, although the Bishop suspended the right of presentation from January 1971 onwards, the congregation remained together, even after losing their appeal to the Privy Council and the declaration of the church as redundant in 1984, continuing to worship in the chapel of the Three Kings of Cologne, in Foster's Almshouses, Colston Street.

In 1966 structural problems at St George's, Brandon Hill, led to the church's future being considered by the Pastoral Committee. It declared 'with great reluctance, whilst recognising the splendid work done by Canon Gay as incumbent ... (it) could see no case for the retention of the separate ... parish ... or of the church'. Canon Gay fought the closure and raised the necessary monies to address the problems of the building.²⁶ As a result of this crisis, in December 1966, the Bishop, Dr Tomkins, finally decided to establish a Commission under the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bristol, Sir Philip Morris, 'to advise the Bishop of the diocese on how the historic churches of central Bristol may best serve both church and community, in the light of the needs of the Church of England in the Bristol diocese as a whole, and of the (role of the) historic churches in the cultural life of the community.' The Commission looked at All Saints'; Christ Church with St Ewen; St Stephen; St James; St John the Baptist, City; St George's, Brandon Hill; St Michael and All Angels-on-the-Mount-Without; and SS Philip and Jacob. Its report was published in June 1968 and subsequent developments largely followed the recommendations. Following the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council's judgement on the appeals of the Parochial Church Councils' of St John the Baptist and St George, Brandon Hill, on 8 March 1984, of the city's 11 parish churches which existed in 1937/8 only St Stephen, Christ Church with St Ewen, SS Philip and Jacob and St Michael and All Angels were still left as parish churches. The last of these subsequently opted for voluntary redundancy (1998).

Parochial Reorganisation under Dr Cockin, 1944-1958, and its continuance under Dr Tomkins

Almost immediately that Dr Cockin was installed he was presented with an ugly situation in the parish of Christ Church, Barton Hill. The parish was traditionally evangelical in a Protestant working class area. The patron, the vicar of St Luke's, Barton Hill, presented Dr De Lacy Evans O'Leary (1872-1957) to the living in 1909. A converted Roman Catholic, Dr O'Leary soon became an Anglo-Catholic of the most

advanced kind and lost most of his congregation. By 1937, although the church could seat 650 people, the electoral roll was a mere 91. His manifest failings were aggravated by his position as a special lecturer in Aramaic, Syriac and Hellenistic Greek at the University; his role as the diocesan inspector of schools in religious education; his position as Chairman of the University's Convocation, which maintained the voting register for the two M.P.s who represented the constituency known as 'the Combined Universities'; and by extended trips to Egypt and the Mediterranean to undertake research for an impressive list of arcane and erudite books. A neighbouring clergyman, commenting upon Dr O'Leary's resignation in 1946, said that he 'sucked the benefice dry and threw it aside when he had finished, like a squeezed lemon ... he left problems behind him on all hands and disgraced the church in the district ... It is shocking to have such a state of things damaging the church's witness.' The church was dilapidated, the roof leaked, the church ornaments were spoiled, and there had been no services or congregation for some years.

The Bishop told the patron that he was suspending his rights to appoint a successor to the parish, but the Diocesan Registrar failed to put the suspension into effect, although the Bishop claimed that it had been agreed by the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee. The arguments about this illegal action rumbled on for years. Local feelings ran high, there were angry public meetings, and the Commission appointed by the Bishop to look into the possible demolition of the church and the union of the parish with St Luke's evoked passionate responses. The Commission's report, when published in 1949, consisted of divided opinion, with three for closure and two against. There were numerous accusations that Archdeacon Reddick had resorted to deliberate trickery to achieve his ends. The Bishop was obliged to make a statement on the subject at the diocesan conference in March 1950 and referred the matter to the newly formed Pastoral Committee, which was considering the future of the parishes in east Bristol. On 4 December 1952, *Hansard* reported that questions on the future of the church were asked in the House of Lords. One of the major opponents of the scheme, the Revd John Stacey Bevan, vicar of St Luke's, canvassed the support of the newly elected M.P., Anthony Wedgewood Benn, prior to the appeal to the Privy Council, which finally gave judgement in favour of the diocese in 1954.²⁷ The case clearly showed the way in which diocesan officials were prepared to ride rough-shod over public opinion and to take advantage of acts of doubtful legality such as the non-registration of the suspension of patronage. Unfortunately, this was not an isolated incident.

The closure of this church resulted in bitter echoes of the sectarian divide between Anglo-Catholics and Protestant Evangelicals in the

nineteenth century. The decisions relating to Christ Church, in the light of Dr Cockin's and the new Bishop of Malmesbury's Anglo-Catholic sympathies,²⁸ resulted in a letter from the incumbent of St Luke's being published in *The English Churchman and St James Chronicle* which voiced the suspicions of many Protestants.²⁹ When it was known that St Andrew's, Clifton, an Evangelical church, was not to be re-built, Canon Wilson, the chairman of the patrons, the evangelical Simeon Trustees, wrote to the Bishop saying, if it 'had stood for another type of churchmanship a different decision would have been given' (20 Oct 1947). Similar statements were subsequently made in the House of Lords about the move to close and demolish Christ Church, Barton Hill in 1952. There is no evidence that any of these accusations had substance.

Many of the poorer areas of Bristol felt that they were disadvantaged by the decisions of the Pastoral Committee in favour of the wealthier parts of Bristol. In 1951 the Revd John Stacey Bevan of St Luke's, Barton Hill, asked for a general agreement on the ratio of churches to population in 11 parishes in the Clifton area, and for 11 in the Barton Hill area.³⁰ None was forthcoming. Similar considerations troubled the parishioners of the parish church of Bedminster, who were battling to rebuild their bombed church, when they heard that All Saints', Clifton, with a much smaller residential parish, was to be rebuilt.³¹

Dr Cockin's other major problems included the re-ordering of the areas of Bristol which were over churched, principally Clifton, Redland and East Bristol; the re-building of churches which had been bombed; and the creation of churches on the new housing estates.

One of the ugliest incidents involved the reorganisation of the Clifton parishes. After the destruction of St Andrew's, the parish church of Clifton, in 1940, the vicar, Canon Henry Louis Bothamley, took his congregation to a variety of places for worship and finally, in 1945, to the Hensman Memorial Church in Victoria Square which had been closed in 1928. It continued to worship there until 1951. In 1949 the Reorganisation Committee launched a scheme to make the vicars of Christ Church and St Paul's, Clifton redundant, to pay them compensation annuities, and to make Canon Bothamley vicar of the new benefice. There was little prior consultation with the incumbents and church wardens to the two churches most affected, until the proposals emerged at a meeting with the Bishop of Malmesbury and other members of the Reorganisation Committee on 25 April 1949. Words such as 'morally indefensible' were used, and one letter stated that the 'suggestion to dismiss the present incumbent [of Christ Church] ... a family man ... from his living and substitute for him the incumbent of an adjacent parish is contrary to every moral precept.' At a parishioners'

meeting at Christ Church, Clifton, in May, a personal attack was made on Canon Bothamley, and the detailed transcript of the meeting between the Reorganisation Committee and the parochial church councils of Holy Trinity, Hotwells, St Andrew's, St John's, St Paul's and Christ Church, Clifton, held in the Reception Room of the University on 17 June 1949, revealed a good deal of passion and sophistry, with angry exchanges between the Bishop and Mr Winter, who was ably supported by Colonel E.S. Sinnott, Brigadier M.J. Williamson, and Lieutenant-Colonel S.H. Middleton-West. It was felt that 'all these schemes are ecclesiastical machinery which lacks the human touch.' The Bishop of Malmesbury stated that 'we believe that we have the opportunity now which will never occur again, and if we don't do some reorganising ... we may be doing a great disservice to the Church in future generations.' He appealed for 'wisdom, charity, self-restraint, mutual trust and sympathy' in matters that affected 'deep feelings and intimate associations'. The arguments and debate went on for months. In September it was decided to remove St Paul's from the scheme. In October Canon Bothamley was offered the living of Stoke Bishop and commended for 'his loyalty to the committee'. All that remained was the compensation annuity and the lump sum for Mr Winter, which was resolved at the close of 1951, and the Clifton Reorganisation Scheme was published in the *London Gazette* on the 11 March 1952. In 1953 it was resolved that the War Damage payment for St Andrew was to be 'ported' to help pay for a church on the new housing estate at Hartcliffe.³² The Simeon Trustees presented the Revd Harold Robert Oakley to the new living in 1951. The recommendations of the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee were bitterly resisted by many members of the congregation of St Andrew's, but to no avail, and Mr Oakley was left to bring the parishes together, which he managed successfully, and with great tact and understanding.

The fate of St Paul's, Clifton was dealt with in a different way.³³ Owing to its close proximity to the University of Bristol's Students' Union in the Victoria Rooms, the recently appointed chaplain to the University, the Revd Russell Acheson, was inducted as vicar in October 1957. Within a short time, the church was feeling the effects of his popular ministry and, from a congregation which had formerly numbered up to 30 regular and 30 occasional visitors, numbers were reported to be between 200 and 300 in term time. In 1966, he was succeeded by the Revd Peter Coleman, chaplain of King's College, London, who found the parish and the associated chaplaincy flourishing, and Dr Cockin's planning and ideas fully justified.

The future of Emmanuel and All Saints', Clifton and St Mary's, Tyndall's Park proved to be more difficult to solve. Emmanuel church

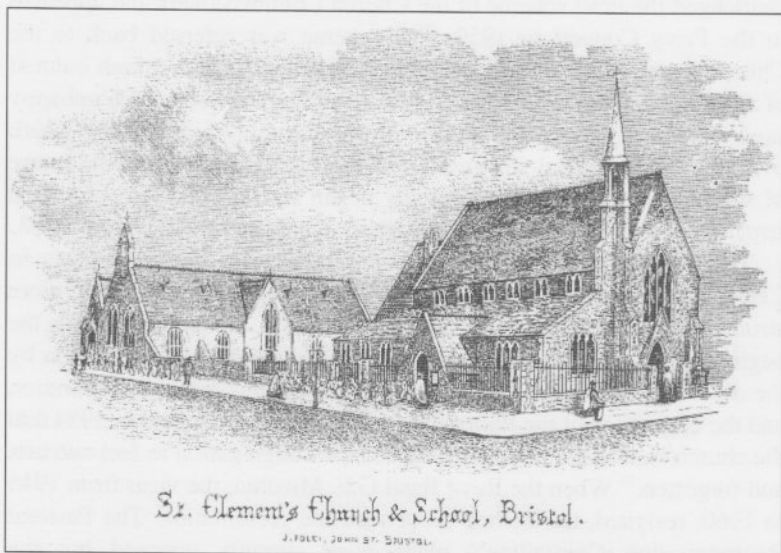
in Guthrie Road had a Low Church Evangelical tradition. It was consecrated in 1869 to counteract the influence of the Anglo-Catholic church of All Saints', Pembroke Road, which had been consecrated the previous year. Their churchmanship remained diametrically opposed. Nonetheless, the destruction of All Saints' in 1940 caused the diocese to take a vigorous line with the vicar, the Revd, (later Canon), Albert Horace Luetchford. The Bishop saw him privately in 1953 and told him that the vicar of Emmanuel was shortly to retire; and, as it would be possibly as long as thirty years before All Saints' was rebuilt, he forcefully suggested that both Mr Luetchford and the congregation move to Emmanuel. The incumbents and churchwardens of both parishes met. The proposals were viewed with disfavour, particularly by All Saints'. Without the permission of the parochial church council, in 1957 an application was made to the corporation by the diocese in the council's name to demolish the ruins of All Saints'. The congregation bitterly and determinedly fought these proposals.

The history of this period is movingly chronicled by Canon Peter Cobb in his pamphlet *The Rebuilding of All Saints', Clifton*.³⁴ The parochial church council of Emmanuel, and a number of individuals, challenged the draft scheme of the Church Commissioners and appealed to the Privy Council in 1959. The scheme was referred back to the Church Commission and the diocese, and the parochial church council of All Saints' appealed to the Privy Council in 1961. The whole unhappy saga was partly resolved by the Privy Council's judgement which overturned the pastoral reorganisation scheme as it related to the future of All Saints'. The rebuilding finally began in 1963 and the completed structure was consecrated by the Bishop, Dr Tomkins, on 1 July 1967.

The controversy caused by the reorganisation of the parishes in Clifton was mirrored throughout Bristol, and nowhere was it more strongly expressed than in the parish of St John, Bedminster. From the beginning the parishioners wanted to rebuild their church. Indecision by the diocese, partly due to the changing housing plans of the corporation and the opposition of the Pastoral Committee, which decided in 1954 that the church should not be rebuilt, caused the congregation to feel outcasts and forgotten.³⁵ When the Revd Basil G.F. Minchin, the vicar from 1945 to 1960, resigned, the Bishop suspended the presentation. The Pastoral Reorganisation Committee's plans were strongly opposed but the congregation's lack of success in appeals to the Privy Council in 1964 and 1965 led to the faithful remnants of the congregation being dispersed. The remains of the church were demolished in 1966. The bitterness caused by this among a large body of churchmen and women can not be underestimated.



*Clifton Parish Church, destroyed 1940 and not rebuilt
(from the author's collection).*



*St Clement's Church, Newfoundland Road, destroyed 1941
and not rebuilt (from the author's collection).*

For at least one congregation there was a still more prolonged death in store. When the long-serving and well-loved vicar of St Thomas, City, the Revd Marwood Paterson, resigned, he left behind him a congregation which was regarded as being the second largest in the city, after St Mary Redcliffe. The *Evening Post* of 30 November 1948 reported that the Bishop had suspended the presentation for five years, 'hoping, no doubt, that a succession of elderly and retired temporary priests will, in the fullness of time, bring about the redundancy of St Thomas's'. The Bishop, mindful of the church's endowments, and the congregation desperate to keep the church alive, hit upon a symbiotic relationship between the church and his newly appointed Social and Industrial Advisor, the Revd John Ragg, who became attached to the church. Some of those involved in the Social and Industrial Mission wanted the church to become a place of 'liturgical experiment', a hope which was frustrated by the congregation. By 1975, it was stated in a working party report that as the 'priest in charge is not primarily committed to building up the life of the congregation ... [the congregation] cannot be visited as regularly as it ought, and no real work can be undertaken to create a new generation of St Thomas people. Furthermore the ministry to the elderly housebound ex-attenders at St Thomas cannot be pursued.' For its part the Social and Industrial Mission castigated the church's 'Stanford in C' musical and liturgical practice as being 'not something that speaks to modern man in industry. In fact St Thomas has never really sustained a process of experimental liturgy in order to find a way of linking S.I.M. work with the varied life of the congregation.' Deciding there was 'no viable future for St Thomas as a church', and that the S.I.M. no longer needed a working base there and could be moved to the Cathedral, the church was closed in 1979, and subsequently became vested in the Redundant Churches Fund. Dr Cockin had the church declared redundant in 1956 to prepare for this eventuality.³⁶

In May 1951 the Pastoral Committee turned their attentions to a group of six parishes: St Andrew, Montpelier; St Bartholomew; St Barnabas, Ashley Road; St Paul, Portland Square; St Simon, Baptist Mills; and St Agnes. (For their electoral roll, Sunday School numbers, and populations, see Appendix I.) All the parishes were financially solvent. The Committee recommended the revision of parish boundaries and the redundancy of St Andrew, St Barnabas and St Simon. St Simon was a parish where there was much poverty and in the 1930s members of the congregation each gave one day's wages towards the cost of the decoration of the drab interior of the church.³⁷ They were 'advanced' Anglo-Catholics and were finally joined by the Pastoral Committee to St Agnes as a chapel of ease, even though the diocese knew that the

majority of the congregation would not attend St Agnes and there was no bus that went in the direction of All Hallows, Easton, the nearest place with similar churchmanship.³⁸ The vicar from 1942 to 1955, the Revd Ephah Garons Ryle Hughes, was formerly vicar of St Raphael's (1932-1942), and came to St Simon's after his church was destroyed in the air raids. St Barnabas had been struggling for some time and surrendered its independence without resistance.³⁹ With St Andrew's there was a long battle which resulted in a short stay of execution and the church becoming a chapel of ease to St Bartholomew's. In September 1963 it was reported that St Andrew's church only had an electoral role of 111, a third of its number twelve years before, and that it was unable to 'pay its way'.⁴⁰ In the Pastoral Sub-Committee it was said 'St Bartholomew's did not really want St Andrew's and the two had never been welded together'. The church was closed as a dangerous building, and finally demolished in 1969. At the same time the churchyard was cleared and the site sold; the human remains were removed and reburied in a common grave, causing a great deal of anguish and resentment in the community.⁴¹

Contemporary surveys were undertaken by the Pastoral Committee of Redland Chapel; St Matthew, Kingsdown; St Nathaniel, and St Katharine, Redland. Various considerations, largely inexplicable, meant that the only church in this group required to close was St Katharine's, which had numerous parish activities, and a small modern building consecrated in 1931, with seating for 224. It had flourished since the Revd Leonard William Potter became vicar in 1943, with all services showing substantial increases in attendance during his ministry and a marked increase in the electoral roll.⁴² St Katharine's was also the only Anglo-Catholic church in the immediate vicinity, and consequently it is unlikely that St Nathaniel's Church, to which it was joined, substantially increased its electoral roll. Two individual members of the Pastoral Committee pleaded in vain on behalf of St Katherine's and St Andrew's, Montpelier, but the objections of Canon Gay and Canon Stancomb were ignored.⁴³

Another case that caused much anguish was that of St Silas. The vicar, the Revd Alexander Christopher Weemyss, raised a significant sum of money for church improvements which were completed a few weeks before the church was destroyed in January 1941. He worked tirelessly in the aftermath of the war to have his church rebuilt. The Pastoral Committee were determined that this shouldn't happen, but Mr Weemyss refused to compromise or to make things easier by resigning the living, and thus the freehold, or to accept another benefice. In the end, under the terms of the scheme published in the *London Gazette* on 28 February 1956, the parish was joined to St Luke's, Bedminster, the site of the

church ordered to be cleared and sold, and Mr Weemyss paid both a lump sum of £200 and an annuity of £650 for six years until he reached pensionable age. Early in 1959 the congregation ceased to worship in St Silas's School, as they had done since 1940, and moved to St Luke's, but their days were numbered in their new home. In 1964, the vicar of the joint parish informed the Bishop that he had just learned from the local planning authority that the whole parish was likely to disappear under industrial development. By 1968, the population was reduced to 500 and the minister and parochial church council opted for closure prior to the church's demolition for road widening, in the hope that their endowments and Evangelical tradition could be used elsewhere.⁴⁴ The parish was finally joined to St Luke and Christ Church, Barton Hill in 1970.

The re-ordering of the parishes in the old Deanery of East Bristol was no less traumatic, and continued into the 1970s and 1980s. St Simon, Baptist Mills had been finally declared redundant in 1958 and let to the Greek Orthodox Church. St Gabriel and St Lawrence, Easton were joined together in 1954 in a manner which caused great unhappiness to the congregation of St Lawrence. In circumstances similar to those surrounding the closure of Christ Church, Barton Hill, the Bishop's Registrar failed to keep any record of the Bishop's intention to suspend the presentation in 1944, and in 1951, contrary to the Bishop's explicit public statement on the matter, it was shown that the rights of the patrons had not lapsed. The *Western Daily Press* for 18 October 1951 recorded that the proposals of the Pastoral Reorganisation Committee to demolish the church and parish house, and to join the benefice to St Gabriel, were discussed at an angry protest meeting which rejected the proposals. There were numerous claims that Dr Cockin and Archdeacon Reddick had made up their minds against keeping the church alive long before the meeting with the parishioners took place. They were unmoved but, fearful of the lay reader who had served the parish so faithfully since the departure of the last incumbent in 1944, the Bishop refused the request of the church wardens and parochial church council to allow him to preach the last sermon, insisting that it be preached instead by Archdeacon Reddick.

The other major parochial problems hinged on the fates of Holy Trinity, St Philip's, St Jude's and SS Philip and Jacob, where once populous parishes had been depopulated by the twin effects of bombing and re-development. During the incumbency of the charismatic vicar of Holy Trinity, the Revd Charles Claxton, between 1933 and 1943,⁴⁵ the attendance at evensong was usually 500 and could swell to 1,500 at popular festivals. This was at a time when the Wills and Fry factories preferred to employ churchmen and women. His successor, the Revd

Frederick John Barff, vicar from 1943-1955, had a general appeal to evangelicals all over the city and later became the General Secretary of the Rwanda Mission. Amidst the general devastation and slum clearance, he could still preach to congregations of between 150 and 200, and he completed a parochial visitation of every house in the parish at least once a year. This situation, which relied upon one man's personality and charisma, was not easily maintained. By November 1963, the parish was within the sights of the diocese for closure. This was due to the fact that the City Council had announced new housing developments in the Easton area which would bring a further 7,500 people into the area, but both Holy Trinity and St Gabriel were found to be badly sited in relation to the new developments. The Pastoral Committee were soon considering building a new church in the heart of the new Greater Easton Development centre. Eighteen months later the Bishop and Archdeacon Reddick met the vicar and 21 members of the parochial church council and, on 16 March 1966, the *Bristol Evening Post* reported that the church was scheduled for redundancy and the parish for merger with St Gabriel's, Easton.⁴⁶ The vicar of Holy Trinity, the Revd Francis Richard Waller Read, was reported as saying, 'I have very, very, strong feelings on the subject ... But had better say no more at this stage.' The following day the Bishop wrote a letter of complaint to the editor about the report, saying that local inhabitants didn't understand the planning reasons behind the proposals. Notwithstanding the strength of popular and parish opinion, and the fact that in 1964 the electoral roll stood at 250 (90 resident and 160 non-resident), the diocese pressed ahead with its plans. In November 1966 Mr Read left the benefice and the presentation was suspended. The resultant despondency, uncertainty, and continuing council-sponsored re-development and house clearances in the parish, caused the congregation to melt away in the absence of decisive leadership and a local community. The union of both parishes finally took place in 1974, by which time the congregation of Holy Trinity had been reduced to four men and eleven women all over 70 years of age.⁴⁷ New life was breathed into the spiritual life of the area with the creation of the Easton Family Centre in 1976 and Holy Trinity was declared redundant in the following year.

The adjacent parish of St Jude the Apostle escaped closure in the 1930s when 40,000 people were moved from the central area to nine new housing estates, including those at Knowle, Bedminster Down, Fishponds, Sea Mills and St Anne's. The parish was blessed with a succession of devoted priests⁴⁸ but they were not able to withstand the force of such continued population changes. In 1969, the incumbent, the Revd T. Arthur White, the vicar from 1950 to 1980, wrote to the Bishop

about his 'beloved parish'. He had just learned that four blocks of flats were due to be evacuated, because of fears for their foundations, and some 384 tenants were to be moved to other accommodation: 'this is a bitter blow and I fear that many will not return to their parish once they are moved. I cannot afford to lose any, especially faithful communicants and young children.' Upon his retirement in 1980, the presentation was suspended and the church subsequently declared redundant.⁴⁹

The congregation of SS Philip and Jacob was felt to be equally doomed. By 1963, a local incumbent wrote that it had 'no real future'. It had a small congregation, a great shortage of parish workers, many elderly almshouse residents, and two church wardens who wanted to retire. However, the appointment of the Revd, later Canon, Malcolm W. Widdecombe, who was undertaking youth work in a neighbouring parish, began to turn the situation around. Notwithstanding this achievement, in September 1964 the Bishop, on the advice of his officials, announced his decision to make the church redundant. A storm of protest ensued, and the Bishop received the following anonymous letter in the satirical vein of C.S. Lewis's *Screwtape Letters* (1942), giving advice from a senior to a junior devil: 'Congratulations on brilliant idea of closing SS Philip and Jacob Church. Was getting worried that they were becoming dangerous. Far too many young people were becoming Christians and Anglican service was on the point of becoming interesting ... Many thanks for your continued support, hoping to hear of final closure soon!' The *Bristol Evening Post* for 8 April 1965 reported that the church had been issued with a challenge by the Bishop. He had given the church three years to produce an additional £500 p.a. towards the upkeep of the church 'over and above its commitments to running expenses, its contribution to diocesan quota, and of course to the church overseas', and to increase the evening congregation from an average of 50 to 120. The church's work was blessed, the fellowship and the giving grew, and in 1973 the Bishop ended the suspension of presentation.⁵⁰ The Bishop, Dr Oliver Tomkins, had his support and faith in the project amply rewarded and this was a source of genuine pleasure to him. His judgement was publicly and completely vindicated.

The future of redundant mission churches was much more easily dealt with by the diocese than that of parish churches, which were deemed to be surplus to requirements. Many were not consecrated and, therefore, not bound by the problems of legislation. In the immediate post-war period, many fell under the successive blows of the developers' hammers, although there were exceptions. Of Holy Nativity, Knowle's mission churches, two were closed in the period 1959-1962, another, St Martin's, had been given its own parish in 1907. The last of them, St Katherine,

Pylle Hill, became a warehouse in 1962, but in 1968 the Bishop, in reply to the vicar's request, agreed to its sale to the Muslims for the purposes of a mosque, opining that, 'such a gesture seems fully in accordance with the new look of interconfessional dialogue. No, I see no objection to it theologically or morally.' The Bishop's views were fully in accord with those of many churchmen and women, who preferred a religious rather than a secular use for a place of worship which had been very much loved.

The problems caused by the lack of direction and indecision in the diocese during the episcopates of both Bishops Cockin and Tomkins are clearly shown in a letter sent to the Bishop by one of the church wardens of St Michael and All Angels, Two Mile Hill in 1972. Reflecting on both the present and past, it stated that, 'members of [this] congregation are becoming increasingly restless. The uncertainty caused in this parish has been due to the dilatoriness of the Pastoral Reorganisation Committee, who after 20 years have still not resolved the position in this area ... you have a congregation who have a very real and deep-rooted fear of being 'taken over' ... each time a vicar has left there has been a lengthy interregnum with schemes produced for 'a link up' or 'closure' and after much worrying these have fallen through.' The letter goes on to reflect on the feelings of insecurity and unhappiness caused by the diocesan handling of the case of St John the Baptist, Bedminster.

Among the city parishes, the effects of post-war development and demographic change can be most clearly seen in the parish of St Michael and All Angels-on-the Mount Without. In 1937 the electoral roll stood at 784, and the church could only seat 700 people. In the 1950s and 1960s, the rector from 1935 to 1981, the Revd, later Canon, Frederick Charles Vyvyan Jones, did all that he could to oppose the development of the University of Bristol in the area stretching from the gardens of the Royal Fort House down to Old Park Hill. Although he put up a valiant fight in his capacity as a City Councillor, and later as the Lord Mayor of Bristol and an Alderman, the University's expansion continued to take place. Rows of fine eighteenth century town houses were torn down, his parishioners were displaced and his church gradually emptied, until by 1982 the electoral roll stood at 102. This change was in spite of the fact that Canon Vyvyan Jones had a personal following and was a man of trenchant religious and political views, which were fearlessly expounded.

New Churches⁵¹

The money for new churches came from a variety of sources. Some came from the War Damages Commission. Where buildings were not rebuilt, the money the diocese received was 'ported' to a new project. The New Housing Areas (Church Buildings) Measure 1954 gave power

to the Church Commissioners to make grants to churches in housing areas and the diocese was allocated £30,000 for the period 1954-1958. Dr Cockin launched the Church Development Appeal in October 1956 with the intention of raising £240,000 towards building six new churches, and providing the funding for various extensions, vicarages and other badly needed parochial buildings. The remaining £210,000 came from other sources. The results of this initiative included: St Mark's, Brentry (1955); St Andrew's, Hartcliffe (1956); Holy Cross, Inns Court (1959); St Mary Magdalene with St Frances, Lockleaze (1961); St Peter's, Lawrence Weston (1962); Christ the Servant, Stockwood (1964); St Chad's, Patchway (1964); and St Augustine's Church Centre, Whitchurch (1972).

These churches were viewed with some satisfaction within the diocese, and their design tended to follow fashion and sought to show a new dynamism in the church by use of advanced architectural techniques. Unfortunately, in certain instances, the diocese was poorly served both by its architects and by their new building materials. These led to numerous problems. Within a few years the churches in Patchway and Lawrence Weston had leaking roofs and the congregation of St Mark's, Brentry needed to find an alternative home in 1985, only thirty years after their church was built.

St Andrew's, Hartcliffe was built of reinforced concrete and required to be re-roofed in 1983 after 37 years. St Mary Magdalene, Lockleaze was built of pre-cast concrete. The former chairman of the Diocesan Advisory Committee, Mr H.G.M. Leighton, writes that it was built, 'Carefully, with well-controlled manufactured reinforced concrete but on its exposed site the roof blew off and concrete sickness, for other reasons, spread through the structure like a cancer.' By 1988 it was reported that the building had so many faults it was unlikely to have another twenty years of life.

At St Chad's, Patchway, the concrete central frame was given windows designed by Margaret Traherne. Unfortunately, the frame was structurally unsound and the church cracked down the middle and broke part of the glass. The re-built churches of Avonmouth and All Saints', Clifton were both provided with copper roofs which caused structural deterioration to their sub-structure. Even St Augustine's, Whitchurch had numerous structural problems within a short time of its completion.

In 1987, thirty years after it was built, Holy Cross, Inns Court, was reported as only having safe foundations and three good walls. Concrete cancer had attacked one wall and the tower, and the roof was in a bad way. By 1990, the flat roof was leaking to such an extent that the electric circuits were dangerous and damp was endemic. The church was declared redundant in 1993. The congregation worshipped in the church hall from the previous year.

The warmer sides of both Archdeacon Reddick and Dr Cockin can be seen in the labour that both invested in the new schemes and in encouraging their clergy on the new housing estates. By their work and witness, they clearly saw these new churches, (whose patronage partly belonged to the Bishop), as being the future for the Established Church in Bristol. The great interest they showed in their development was continued by Dr Tomkins, and Archdeacon Williams.

Conclusion

It is reported that Dr John Tinsley, the Bishop from 1975 to 1985, once said, in words which echoed those of Mary Tudor on the loss of Calais, that when he died and was opened up, the words, 'Redundant Churches' would be engraved on his heart. The episcopates of Dr Woodward and Dr Cockin (1933-1958) were dominated by this issue. The problems caused by the war required immediate attention, and the fairly civilized and gradual reorganisation that was undertaken in the late 1930s, was no longer possible. Administrative solutions and short cuts were taken which often put the diocese morally, and sometimes legally, in the wrong. The apparent ruthlessness and inhumanity of many aspects of Dr Cockin's episcopate should be seen against the problems the diocese faced and the need to address the spiritual requirements of those who had moved to the new estates. When Dr Cockin retired, he was followed by Dr Oliver Stratford Tomkins (1910-1992), who was consecrated in 1959. He arrived at a time when the diocese was recovering from the first stages of its reorganisation. At once he established cordial relations with many of his officials and clergy, one of whom described him as 'a pastor's pastor', with a gift for friendship, and for listening to his clergy with sympathy, compassion, and humanity. The respect and the affection in which he was held can still be felt when talking with those who knew him and worked with him, and is mirrored in the tributes paid to him in the book edited by his daughter, Mrs Monica Cleasby, entitled *Oliver Tomkins by his friends*, (undated). During his episcopate, there was a lull in the pace of merger and closure. He later wrote that 'there was no facet of the work of a diocesan bishop to which I was more glad to say 'Goodbye' than involvement in Pastoral Reorganisation.' Miss Ralph, in her appreciation of Dr Tomkins, stated that 'he felt he ought to support his predecessors' and this included the decision of the Pastoral Committee not to rebuild All Saints', Pembroke Road, as well as various other closures and parish mergers. The final phase of this work left over from Dr Cockin's episcopate awaited completion by Bishop Tinsley in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Dr Tomkins faithfully fulfilled many of the recommendations of his

Commission on the fate of the city churches, the most notable of which was that, following the second suspension of presentation at Christ Church, City from 1967 to 1970, he appointed the Diocesan Director of Education, the Revd, later Canon, Keith Reid Wilkes, to the vacant benefice and to All Saints', Corn Street, where he sited the Diocesan Education Office. He showed imagination in many of his decisions, and his support for the Revd Malcolm Widdecombe's ministry showed flexibility and a willingness to go out into the darkness grasping the hand of God.

By 1965, the diocese was in better heart, and in some parishes morale was better than it had been for over 20 years. The remaining decade of his episcopate, from the standpoint of the early 1980s, appeared to be a golden one, shaped by the policy of his predecessors, and by his own personality. This widely-held viewpoint is still current today, and is a tribute to his very real personal qualities.

There are those who, when considering the future of Christianity in general and the Church of England in particular, view the words of Matthew Arnold in *Dover Beach* as prophetic:

'The sea of faith was once, too, at the full,
And round earth's shore
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd.
But now I only hear its melancholy, long,
Withdrawing roar, retreating ...'

Students of ecclesiastical history, however, may be more sanguine. The parochial life of the 1960s and 1970s was in many instances more innovative and leaner than it had been in the pre-war period, and ministers and congregations continued to faithfully execute their ministries amongst individual enquirers, the spiritually lost, and their own members, as 'beacons in a dark world'. Those churchmen who felt despair in the face of what to them was the defeat, abnegation and iconoclasm of church demolitions, closures, parish mergers, parochial reorganisation, and the abandonment of the old ways, perhaps needed to turn to the Scriptures, meditate upon the words of the Pharisee, Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, about the infant struggling church in *Acts V*, 38-39, and to draw comfort and hope from them.

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Appendix I: Sunday School and Electoral Roll Figures for various Parishes Surveyed

Parish	Electoral Roll	Sunday School	Population	Year
St Lawrence, Easton*	220	120	4,000	1950
St Gabriel, Easton*	336	120	4,600	1950
Holy Trinity, St Philip's*	264: 123R 131NR	300	8,000	1950
Christ Church, Barton Hill*	268: 218R 50NR	80(7)	3,000	1950
St Luke, Barton Hill	224	360(37)	8,000	1950
St Michael, Bishopston*	1,460: 651R 809NR	?	15-20,000	1951
St Andrew, Montpelier*	311: 171R 140NR	40-50 under 7 ⁺	7,000	1951
St Bartholomew	165: 85% R	60	8,000	1951
St Matthew, Kingsdown	134: 57R 77NR	155	4,200	1951
St Nathanael*	262: 37R 225NR	97	800	1951
St Barnabas, Ashley Road*	173: 97R 76NR	150(10)	6,000	1951
St Katharine, Redland*	261: 126R 135NR	80(7)	4,500	1951
Redland Chapel	184: 76R 108NR	80	3,000	1951
St Simon, Baptist Mills*	103: 44R 59NR	110	4-5,000	1951
St Agnes	175: 101R 74NR	245	6,000	1951
St Paul, Portland Square*	217: 141R 76NR	70	3,000	1952
St Bede, Fishponds*	56: 50R 6NR	NONE	6,000	1952
St John, Fishponds	326: 221R 95NR	300	7,000	1952
St Michael, Two Mile Hill	167: 116R 51NR	150	8,000	1952
All Saints', Clifton	448: 87R 361NR	60	1,752	1953
St Paul, Clifton	231: 104R 127NR	NONE	3,000	1953
Emmanuel*	161: 43R 118NR	NONE	1,200	1953
St Mary, Tyndall Park*	130: 50R 80NR	30	5,500-6,000	1953
St Saviour, Tyndall Park*	394: 213R 181NR	153	4,000	1954
St John, Clifton*	320: 247R 73NR	160	7,000	1954
St Michael, Windmill Hill	394: 324R 70NR	200	10,000	1954
Holy Nativity, Knowle	569: 436R 133NR	195	12,740	1954
St Dunstan, Bedminster	143: 100% R	100 ^a	10,000	1954
St John, Bedminster*	226: 104R 122NR	250	15,000	1954
Christ Church, Clifton	498: 262R 236NR	80	8,479	1962

Note: The 1950 population figures are estimates. The last census was 1931, and none was taken in 1941. Where numbers of Sunday School teachers are known the figure appears in brackets after the number of scholars.

Key: R= Resident, NR = Non Resident

* Churches subsequently declared redundant.

⁺ Figures for older children not known.

^a Elsewhere this figure is given as 200.

The decline in Sunday School numbers during the period which spans the 1930s to the 1970s can be seen by noting the number of churches with Sunday Schools which became redundant during this period. The superintendent of the Sunday School attached to Christ Church, City between c.1888 and 1949 was James George Griffiths (1859-1949), who was also one of the church wardens from 1914 until his death. The strength of the school between the wars was about 100. The school ceased shortly after his death. J.G. Griffiths, *Fraternity of St Michael, Christ Church with St Ewen, Bristol* (Bristol, 1915), p.5.

Appendix II: The Churches of the City of Bristol in 1937/8 and their subsequent histories⁵²

Bedminster Deanery

1	Holy Nativity, Knowle	Bombed 1940, foundation stone of new church laid 1955, new church consecrated 1958
1A	St Katherine, Pylle Hill	Mission church, never consecrated, closed 1962, used as warehouse and from 1968 the Bristol mosque
1B	Holy Redeemer, Bath Road	Mission church, opened 1907, closed 1959
2	St Peter, Bishopsworth	*
3	St Aldhelm, Bedminster	Built 1902, church damaged by incendiaries 1940/1, part of Bedminster parish 1974
4	St Anne, St Anne's Park, Brislington	Built 1909, presentation suspended for 5 years 1978, 1983
5	St Christopher, Brislington	Dedicated 1921, presentation suspended for 5 years 1985
5A	Christ Church, Hengrove	Church dedicated 1934, given a parish 1940, endowed by St Peter's, Clifton Wood and St Andrew-the-Less, Hotwells
6	St Cuthbert, Brislington	Dedicated as a mission church of St Luke's 1906, given a parish in 1930, new church consecrated 1933, presentation suspended for 5 years 1976, 1981, 1986
7	St Dunstan, Bedminster	Consecrated 1929, 1974 part of Bedminster parish, subsequently closed. Declared redundant 1992. Sold to A.P.C. Fashions 1995
8	St Francis, Ashton Gate	Partly destroyed Dec 1940, and again 11 April 1941, rebuilt 1951/3, presentation suspended in 1973, 1974 part of Bedminster parish
9	St John the Baptist, Bedminster	Destroyed 1941, rebuilding delayed, worship in church hall, 1954 Pastoral Committee decided not to rebuild, presentation suspended 1960, appeal against closure to Privy Council 1964-65, remains demolished 1966, site purchased by corporation 1973
9A	St Hugh	Mission church, licensed 1931, closed 1962, sold to corporation 1964
10	St Luke, Bedminster	Closed due to depopulation 1968, joined to St Luke Barton Hill 1970, church demolished 1970
11	St Luke, Brislington	The Parish Church. Presentation suspended 1976, 1981, 1986
12	St Martin, Knowle	Built 1891, consecrated 1901 as a mission church of Holy Nativity, Knowle
13	St Mary Redcliffe	*
13A	St Mary the Less, Barnard's Place	Opened 1900, Closed 1940
14	St Michael & All Angels, Windmill Hill	Parochial 1902, benefice suspended in 1961, 1962, 1972, 1977
14A	St Michael The Less, Marmaduke Street	Recommended for disposal by the Bristol Sub-Committee of the Pastoral Committee 1954

15	St Oswald, Bedminster Down	Built 1927/8
16	St Barnabas, West Knowle	Mission church, opened 1934, consecrated 1938, P.C.C. asked for church to be declared redundant and demolished and replaced by a worship centre, 1976. Agreed by Bishop and Pastoral Committee 1977. Demolished September 1980, new building completed April 1982
17	St Paul, Bedminster	Destroyed 1940, rebuilt 1958, partial collapse 1990, rebuilt, 1974 part of Bedminster parish
17A	St David	Built 1909 as a mission hall, used for worship 1940s and 1990
18	St Raphael, Cumberland Road	Badly damaged 1940, not rebuilt, parish divided 1942 between Holy Trinity, Hotwells and St Mary Redcliffe. Ruins demolished 1954
19	St Silas, St Philip's Marsh	Bombed 1940, not rebuilt, parish joined to St Luke, Bedminster, 1956, church hall used for worship 1950-1959
20	St Thomas, St Thomas Street	Redundant 1956, closed 1979 and vested in Redundant Churches Fund 1988. Extra-parochial district now served from Redcliffe
21	Temple, Temple Street	Bombed 1940, church not rebuilt, parish joined to St Mary Redcliffe

City Deanery

22	All Saints', Corn Street	1971-1984 united to Christ Church, City, then to St Stephen's, subsequently declared redundant 1984. Now the offices of the Diocesan Board of Education
23	Christ Church with St Ewen's, Broad Street	1939 suggested demolition, survived in spite of two periods of suspension of presentation (1951-58, 1967-70), 1971 united to All Saints', 1984 united to St George's, Brandon Hill
24	Emmanuel the Unity, St Philip's	Parish united with SS Philip and Jacob 1936, with effect from 1938. Church demolished
25	Holy Trinity, St Philip's	1966 church scheduled for redundancy and parish united to St Gabriel's, Easton 1974, congregation moved to Easton Family Centre 1976, redundant 1977, used by the Caribbean Institute
26	St Augustine-the-Less, College Green	1938 parish united to St George's, Brandon Hill. 1941 church used by St Nicholas's congregation. Damaged in raids. Church demolished 1962
27	St Clement, Newfoundland Road	Destroyed 1941, parish joined to St Paul, Portland Square, 1943. Site cleared
28	St George's, Brandon Hill	1975-1984 no vicar, presentation suspended, declared redundant 1984. Not deconsecrated. Held by St George's Music Trust. Parish joined to St Stephen & Christ Church, City

29	St James, Haymarket	1957 united to St Peter, presentation suspended 1972, 1978, 1983; 1984 redundant and joined St Stephen's, 1992 leased to the Little Brothers of Nazareth for 99 years
30	St John the Baptist with St Lawrence	1971, 1976 and 1981 presentation to benefice suspended. Case taken to Privy Council. Declared redundant 1984, parish joined to St Stephen, congregation moved to the Chapel of the Three Kings of Cologne, Foster's Almshouses
31	St Jude the Apostle	1980 presentation to the living suspended, redundant 1982, parish joined Easton Family Centre, 1987 turned into offices
32	St Mary le Port	Bombed 1940, congregation moved to St John the Baptist, parish joined to St James 1957. Churchyard cleared 1962
33	St Matthias-on-the-Weir	Closed June 1940, parish joined to St Jude. Demolished 1949 ^a
34	St Michael & All Angels on the Mount Without	Voluntarily redundant 1999, parish divided between St Stephen's and St Mary, Cotham
35	St Nicholas with St Leonard, Bristol Bridge	Bombed 1940, congregation worshipped at St Augustine's and later as the crypt of St Nicholas, closed in 1958, parish joined to St Stephen's
36	St Paul, Portland Square	Joined to St Clement 1943, and St Barnabas 1955. Presentation suspended 1981, redundant, 1997 parish joined to St Agnes. In the care of Churches Conservation Trust
37	St Peter, Castle Green	Church bombed 1940, church not rebuilt, parish joined to St James 1957
38	St Philip & St Jacob	1938 parish joined to Emmanuel the Unity, presentation to benefice suspended for 5 years 1959, now flourishing
39	St Stephen's	1984 joined to Christ Church with St Ewen and St George, Broad Street to form the city benefice
40	Seamen's Church, Prince Street	Bombed 1940, rebuilt 1943. Mission closed December 1953. The Bristol Evangelistic Centre 1954-1981, became offices

Clifton Deanery

41	Holy Trinity, Abbot's Leigh	United 1976 with St Mary, Leigh Woods, which was then transferred to Diocese of Bristol from Bath & Wells
42	All Saints', Pembroke Road	Bombed 1940, rebuilt 1967
43	St Andrew, Avonmouth	Built 1893, independent of St Mary's, Shirehampton 1918, bombed 1941 and rebuilt 1957
44	Christ Church, Clifton	*
45	Emmanuel, Guthrie Road	1953 presentation suspended, parish finally joined to Christ Church 1963, thereafter church redundant, and demolished apart from the tower 1976

46	Holy Trinity, Hotwells	Bombed 1940, rebuilt 1958
47	Holy Trinity and St Andrew, Horfield	Parish church *
47A	St Edmund	Mission church founded 1905, last service 1978, closed and sold to Tradescreen Service
48	St Alban, Westbury Park	Dedicated 1909. Consecrated and given a parish in 1913
49	St Andrew, Clifton	Bombed 1940, congregation worshipped at St James, Victoria Square 1945-51, site cleared 1951, parish joined to Christ Church, Clifton
50	St Andrew the Less, Dowry Square	Closed 1938, joined Holy Trinity, re-used 1940-58, closed 1958, sold to the corporation 1963 and demolished
51	St Edyth, Sea Mills	Dedicated 1921, consecrated 1928
52	St Gregory, Horfield	Built 1934
52A	St Augustine, Horfield	A hut used as a mission church and Sunday School, declared redundant 1954, and moved to St Bede, Fishponds
53	St John the Evangelist, Apsley Road	Presentation suspended 1974, Joined to All Saints', Clifton 1978, declared redundant, and closed 1980, now used as auction rooms by Osmond Tricks
53A	St Anselm, Whatley Road	Mission church, bombed 1940, church not rebuilt. Ruins demolished 1949
54	St Katherine, Cranbrook Road	New church consecrated 1931, 1954 joined to St Nathanael, and declared redundant. Used as a parish hall until 1956. Let to the BBC 1959
55	St Matthew, Kingsdown	Presentation suspended 1973 Joined to SS Katherine & Nathanael 1988
56	St Mary the Virgin, Tyndall's Park	Joined to All Saints' Pembroke Road 1962, redundant 1976, BBC warehouse 1976-1995, now the Woodlands' Christian Centre
57	St Michael & All Angels, Bishopston	Built 1858, declared unsound structurally 1990, abandoned 1991, demolished 1997, joined to parishes SS Andrew, Bartholomew, and Good Shepherd 1998
57A	Church of the Good Shepherd, Bishop Road	Founded 1927, new church built 1957
58	St Nathanael, Redland	Suspended Presentation 1974, 1979. Redundant 1988, joined to St Matthew's
59	St Paul, Clifton	In 1957 became centre of Anglican Chaplaincy to the University of Bristol
60	St Peter, Clifton Wood	Closed 1938 and demolished 1939, parish joined to Holy Trinity, Hotwells
61	St Peter, Henleaze	Built 1927
62	St Saviour, Redland	Declared redundant 1978, sold to Mount of Olives Pentecostalist
63	St Mary, Shirehampton	*
64	St Mary Magdalene, Stoke Bishop	*

65	Holy Trinity, Westbury-on-Trym	*
66	Redland Chapel	Created a separate parish 1941
67	Southmead, St Stephen	Given conventional district 1936, part of building consecrated 1959 and given parish

East Bristol Deanery

68	All Hallows', Easton	Consecrated 1900. Taken out of St Mark's Easton. Suspended presentation 1962, 1967-1981
69	All Saints', Fishponds	Consecrated 1909
70	Christ Church, Barton Hill	Ugly closure, attempts to close April 1946, questions in House of Lords 1952, parish united to St Luke's 1958, church demolished 1959-1960
71	Holy Trinity, Kingswood	Team ministry 1989
71A	The Church of the Ascension, Kingswood	Dedicated 1913 as a daughter of Holy Trinity
72	St Agnes, Newfoundland Road	Parish united to St Simon 1956 and St Werburgh 1971
73	St Aidan	Part of East Bristol Team Ministry 1975
73A	Crews Hole Mission	
74	St Ambrose, Whitehall	1975 part of East Bristol Team Ministry
75	St Andrew, Montpelier	United to St Bartholomew 1957. Demolished, churchyard cleared 1969
76	St Anne, Greenbank	Built 1901, parish taken out of St Mark's and church consecrated 1926. Presentation suspended 1973
77	St Barnabus, Ashley Road	1955 united to St Paul, Portland Square. Church redundant, 1954-1981 let to LEA. Demolished due to dry rot 1983
78	St Bartholomew, St Andrew's Park, Montpelier	Built 1894, joined to St Andrew's 1957, and Bishopston 1998. Presentation suspended 1951-3
79	St Bede, Hillfields Park, Fishponds	Made parish 1927. 1952 Presentation suspended. 1961 parish reabsorbed by St John. Temporary church demolished
80	St Gabriel, Easton	Joined with St Lawrence 1954. In 1973, presentation to living suspended for 5 years, ceased to be place of worship 1974, parish joined to Holy Trinity, St Philip's. Demolished as unsafe 1975
81	St George, East Bristol	Part of East Bristol Team Ministry 1975. Redundant 1974. Church demolished 1975 and small worship centre built
82	St John, Fishponds	*
83	St Lawrence, Easton	United to St Gabriel 1954. Redundant, subsequently demolished, unpleasant closure
84	St Leonard, Redfield (Formerly SS Peter and Paul)	Built 1901, given conventional district 1925, consecrated 1938. Part of East Bristol Team Ministry 1975
85	St Luke, Barton Hill	*

86	St Mark, Easton	Suspended presentation 1978. Closed for worship 1982, redundant 1984. Parish joined to St Anne's, Easton
87	St Mary, Fishponds	*
88	St Matthew, Moorfields	Part of East Bristol Team Ministry 1975. Redundant 1998
88A	St Chad and St Saviour	
89	St Michael, Two Mile Hill	*
90	St Simon, Baptist Mills	Parish joined to St Agnes 1956. Chapel of ease to St Agnes. Redundant 1958, became the Greek Orthodox Church and sold to them 1978
91	St Thomas, Eastville	Joined to St Ann, Greenbank 1974, church closed 1976 and later redundant and sold to the New Testament Church of God, W.I. Pentecostal 1978
92	St Werburgh, Mina Road	Benefice united to St Agnes 1972, joined to St Paul, 1987, declared redundant 1991. Church now a climbing centre
93	Holy Trinity, Stapleton	*

New Churches built in the environs of Bristol post 1945

1	St Chad, Patchway	New church consecrated 1964, to replace temporary place of worship used from 1930s. Parish created from parts of Almondsbury and Stoke Gifford. Subsequently an area of ecumenical experiment shared with Methodists. Church has major structural problems with concrete cancer
2	St Mary Magdalene with St Francis, Lockleaze	Worship in a hall (St Francis) from the late 1930s. Building and site sold 1958. New church consecrated 1961, parish created from parts of Horfield St Gregory, Stapleton, and Henleaze. Church suffering from concrete cancer 1988. Demolished 1995
3	St Andrew, Hartcliffe	Church built 1956, consecrated 1960, given a parish 1962. Re-roofed 1983, suffering concrete cancer
4	St Mark, Brentry	Built 1955, problems with the fabric, sold 1985, moved to the Brentry Methodist Church
5	Christ the Servant, Stockwood	Congregation began meeting in a council house 1954, sanctuary and hall dedicated 1964, building completed 1970, parish created out of Brislington and Whitchurch, Hengrove and Keynsham 1973
6	St Augustine's Church Centre, Whitchurch	Carved out of Whitchurch, church dedicated 1972, 1981 major structural problems identified. To be demolished
7	Holy Cross, Inns Court (formerly St Giles, Filwood Park)	Work began in parish c. 1938, Chapel of St Giles (an old barn) dedicated 1940, consecrated 1949, demolished 1962. New church consecrated 1959, concrete cancer, church declared redundant 1993, hall used for worship, church earmarked for demolition, rebuilt, dedicated 1999

8	Withywood, shared church	Inter-denominational worship from before 1965. District formed 1971 from Bishopsworth. Ecumenical project with the Methodists. Given conventional district 1984, Parish created 1994
9	St Peter, Lawrence Weston	1949 temporary place of worship and conventional district. Parish created 1962 from Henbury and Westbury, church consecrated 1962, re-roofed
10	St Giles, Begbrook, Stapleton	1948/9 temporary place of worship, transferred to Frenchay 1959 (outside area considered)

New Benefices

1	St Mary's, Cotham	Created 1976, based in the former Highbury Congregational Chapel, combining the congregations of St Mary's Tyndall Park and St Saviour's
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* flourishing

a Elsewhere there are references to it still standing in September 1952.

Appendix III: The Bristol Guilds' Union 1886 - 1962

Nothing exemplified more the strengths of Anglo-Catholicism in Bristol at the end of the nineteenth century than the formation of the voluntary association known as the Bristol Guilds' Union in 1886.⁵³ This brought together the clergy and the laity of like-minded churches for regular worship and social events. Its component guilds of communicants were divided into individual male, female, and mixed guilds, each with a warden, secretary, a badge and banner, and each guild, or fraternity, was assigned a particular area of social work in its own parish. For example, the Fraternity of St Michael, at Christ Church with St Ewen's, was dedicated to mutual spiritual improvement, and furtherance of the work of the church. It undertook mission work in the Pithay slums, ran the Sunday School and provided servers for the parish church.⁵⁴ The work of the guilds altered through time, partly as a result of slum clearance and re-settlement in the city in the 1920s and 1930s. By 1938, 23 out of 93 parishes in the City had guilds which belonged to the Union.⁵⁵ A well-supported annual festival was held at St Mary Redcliffe. With the start of the blitz in the autumn of 1940, many suspended their meetings, which were not regularly resumed until 1946.⁵⁶ In the post-war period, the Union struggled to keep pace with changes, church closures, and parish amalgamations. By 1954 the vicar of Redcliffe, Canon Richard Fox Cartwright, was asking if the annual Church Guilds' Union Service was still necessary.⁵⁷ The numbers of clergy and guilds were greatly reduced, and efforts to attract affiliates from among the incumbents of the new suburban churches, Hartcliffe, Brentry, Lawrence Weston, and Lockleaze, were unsuccessful. In 1955, for the first time in its history, the Guild did not have surplus monies to donate to charity. Attendance and interest briefly rallied, but the number of participating parishes had shrunk from 23 to ten.⁵⁸ Finally, at the annual meeting of the Guild on 30 March 1962, it was decided that due to the closure of many churches and guilds, there was not sufficient support to justify its continuance. At a special meeting on 18 May 1962, it was decided that the Guild 'had served its purpose'. It was wound up, members being urged to support the Church Union or a similar national body; its residual funds were transferred to St Jude's Communicants' Guild, and its cope and book of remembrance presented to the new church of Christ the Servant, Stockwood. Of the last ten parish churches to support the Guild, only five were places of worship by 1999.

Appendix IV: The Dramatis Personæ

Bishops of Bristol

The Rt Revd George Nickson, M.A., D.D., LL.D. 1914-1933

The Rt Revd Clifford Salisbury Woodward, M.C., M.A., D.D. 1933-1945

The Rt Revd Frederic Arthur Cockin, M.A., D.D. 1946-1958

The Rt Revd Oliver Stratford Tomkins, M.A., D.D., LL.D. 1959-1975

Deans of Bristol

The Very Revd Harry William Blackburne, D.S.O., M.C., M.A. 1934-1951

The Very Revd Francis Evered Lunt, M.A., L.Th. 1951-1957,

later Bishop Suffragan of Stepney 1957-1968

The Very Revd Douglas Ernest William Harrison, M.A., D.Litt. 1957-1972

Archdeacons of Bristol

The Venerable William Welchman, M.A., 1927-1938, Vicar of Temple

The Venerable Charles Symes Leslie Alford, M.A., 1938-1941,

Rector of Christ Church with St Ewen's, City

The Venerable Ivor Stanley Watkins, M.A., 1941-1950

Bishop Suffragan of Malmesbury 1946-1956, Bishop of Guildford 1956-1960

The Venerable Percy George Reddick, M.A. 1950-1967

The Venerable Leslie Arthur Williams, M.A. 1967-1979,

Vicar of Bishopston 1953-1960 and Stoke Bishop 1960-1967

Appendix V: Distinctive Churchmanship in Bristol Parish Churches in 1950

Anglo-Catholic	
Holy Nativity, Knowle	St John the Baptist, Bedminster
St Francis, Ashton Gate	St Martin, Knowle
Christ Church with St Ewen, City	St George, Brandon Hill
St Jude-the-Apostle	St Michael, Two Mile Hill
St Nicholas, City	All Saints', Clifton
Holy Trinity, Horfield	St Gregory, Horfield
St Katharine, Redland	St Mary-the-Virgin, Tyndall's Park
Holy Trinity, Westbury	All Hallows', Easton
St Matthew, Moorfields	St Cuthbert, Brislington
St Simon, Baptist Mills	St Michael, Bishopston
St Anne, Brislington	St Dunstan, Bedminster
Evangelical	
Holy Trinity, St Philip's	St John the Baptist, City
St Paul, Portland Square	Christ Church, Clifton
Emmanuel, Clifton	Holy Trinity, Hotwells
St Andrew, Clifton	St Matthew, Kingsdown
Redland Chapel	Christ Church, Barton Hill
St Gabriel, Easton	St Lawrence, Easton
St Luke, Barton Hill	

The remaining churches were 'Broad Church'.

Appendix VI: Eclectic Congregations

The city churches had eclectic members of their congregations from the late seventeenth century onwards as people moved into Clifton, Westbury, and Redland. This process continued increasingly in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Church of England, rather than building upon existing assets, whether of clergy or buildings, continued in the twentieth century to be wedded to what many felt was the outdated concept of local parish churches for residents who increasingly ignored them, due to the spread of secularism and a general lack of interest in organised religion.

There is no record of the diocese considering the needs of those who worshipped in churches other than their parish churches until Dr Tomkins stated in the Pastoral Committee on 10 March 1970 that he 'looked forward to a possible reconstituted city ministry serving eclectic congregations and providing bases for specialists.' Until this time the official attitude to the eclectic congregations was generally hostile. Ignoring the demands of loyalty and churchmanship, it was assumed that if various city churches were closed their eclectic congregations would be simply re-absorbed by the parishes in which they lived. Eclectic congregations were not confined to the city parishes, and this is clearly shown by the number of non-resident members on electoral rolls listed in Figure 1. Particular churchmanship attracted congregations from a wide area. This is shown by considering the resident and non-resident electoral roll figures for Anglo-Catholic churches such as All Saints', Clifton; St Katharine, Redland; St Mary, Tyndall Park; and St Michael, Bishopston, where the non-resident members of the electoral roll were greater in number than the resident members. This was also true of Evangelical churches, such as Holy Trinity, St Philip's. In areas of re-development, like Easton and Bedminster, people who had moved outside their parish often continued to worship in their former parish church. When churches were made redundant there was often little concerted effort to encourage their former congregations to attend their new parish churches. An important factor when considering eclectic congregations is the personality of the minister, who could attract a large personal following. Successive incumbents of Holy Trinity, St Philip's, have been mentioned in this context. The Revd Arthur Mervyn Stockwood, Bishop of Southwark from 1959 to 1980, who was successively curate, Blundell's School missionary, and vicar of St Matthew, Moorfields (1936-1955), is another example. His social connections, churchmanship, and personality drew many Clifton ladies to attend his church, and led to their chauffeurs waiting outside the church during service times. This is 'the ultimate example of a church filled by the parson, not by its proximity to housing'. The Revd Malcolm Widdecombe's ministry at SS Philip and Jacob also shows what can be achieved by a specialist ministry, and an eclectic congregation with a vision.

Footnotes

1. In the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, Bristol was dominated by nonconformity. This is illustrated by the religious affiliations of its civic leaders. The Church of England was not pre-eminent in the city, although no one division of nonconformity could match the Church of England in terms of the numbers of either its churches or ministers.
2. The relative strengths of the Sunday Schools in the 28 parishes visited by the Pastoral Committee between 1950 and 1954 can be seen in Appendix I. Over 3,675 children were being educated in them during this time.

3. The revisions were the first since the abortive 1928 *Book of Common Prayer*, which was revised to take into account the misgivings of the Anglo-Catholic wing of the church about the *Book of Common Prayer*. The changes did not receive Parliamentary sanction. Series II communion came into being after the Prayer Book (Alternative and Other Services) Measure 1965 was approved. Series III, the precursor of the A.S.B., was authorised on 1 February 1974 and the A.S.B. became the permissible legal alternative to the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1980.
4. *The Bristol Diocesan Directory* (1937) pp.40-60.
5. For comparison, Professor Tyndall of Physics was paid £1,200 p.a. by the University between 1928 and 1944, and Professor Francis of Chemistry the same sum between 1927 and his retirement in 1936; Professor Lewis of Law was paid £850 p.a. in 1937, £1,300 p.a. in 1945 and £1,450 in 1949. In 1936 a grade III Lecturer in Botany received £350 p.a. Professor F de la Court Chard as a Lecturer grade II in Electrical Engineering was paid £425 p.a. in 1938 and £725 p.a. in 1946, and Dr Rixon as a Grade I Lecturer in Chemistry was paid £675 p.a. in 1938, and as a Senior Lecturer in 1944 £750 p.a. In 1946 an unskilled worker was paid about £5 per week (£240 p.a.) and a skilled man, such as a baker, between £8 and £9 per week (£416-£468 p.a.). The Pastoral Committee minutes for 23 February 1951 noted that £550 p.a. was 'regarded generally as a standard of endowment of income in Reorganisation recommendations'. On 9 February 1955 the Pastoral Committee noted that the minimum stipend was £600 p.a., with the Easter Offering and travel allowance for special responsibility.
6. Funeral Sermon for Mr H.D. Salmon, preached by the Revd Canon Richard Bennell. Mr Drury was succeeded as Diocesan Secretary by Commander Herbert Jemphrey.
7. S. Roden Ryder, *What Bishop Cockin did to my parents*, an unpublished manuscript in the possession of the author.
8. When his compensation annuity was discussed with the Pastoral Reorganisation Committee on a number of occasions Mr Winter was loyally supported by his church wardens.
9. It is said that the Bishop, who had assured him of an honorary canonry so that he could leave his church with some dignity, conveniently forgot what he had promised in a moment of need, when it was no longer expedient to honour his word.
10. In among the mass of recollections about these matters, such as those of Mrs Ryder, it is perhaps worth recording two. Mr Roy Dennis, formerly a technician in the Department of Geology in the University, remembers vividly a talk to the leavers of Merrywood Boys' School in 1945 by the Revd Marwood Paterson, vicar of St Thomas', City, who told them that he was pleased that his life and ministry were drawing to a close because he felt he had no place in the changing world which had ensured he would be the last incumbent of his parish. The other was recounted to Councillor Sir Robert Wall, by Canon Percival Gay, vicar of St George's, Brandon Hill, who read in the *Bristol Evening Post* much to his surprise that there would be no further vicars of the parish after the death of the then present incumbent! It was the first he had heard of this matter. These views are reinforced by a letter in the Bristol City Record Office, Diocesan Reorganisation Committee, Planning Subcommittee Minute Book 1945-1954, from the vicar of Christ Church, Clifton, Mr Winter, to the then Canon Reddick: 'I regard these proposals [to remove him from his living], and the manner in which they were put to me on 25 April 1949 as a violation of everything I understand by the words "love and fellowship" ... Such words suggest essential principles which should regulate and govern relationships between Christians.'

11. See especially Chapters 1-3.
12. *The Bristol Diocesan Directory* (1982).
13. P.C.C. St Katharine's 15 May 1952 in Pastoral Committee Minutes (P.C.M.) Vol. I, When St Saviour's met the suspension of presentation by the bishop in 1975 with almost 100% opposition from the P.C.C. and other members of the congregation and a petition signed by c.400 people, the bishop told them that they couldn't have their own incumbent because of the 'present clerical manpower shortage'. P.C.M. Vol. II 20 May 1975, The P.C.C. accepted this argument at first but then reasserted its objections because 'the withdrawal had been brought about by undue pressure.'
14. For a brief appreciation of his life see the *Bristol Evening Post*, 24 February 1949.
15. See the Revd S.P. Shipley & H. Rankin, *Bristol's Bombed Churches* (Bristol 1945), p.68.
16. The *Bristol Evening Post* and the *Western Daily Press* 5 July 1946. Dr Cockin's monument in the cathedral records that he was: 'a humble man. A leader in the cause of Christian unity, and in the field of education. Concerned above all else with the outreach of the Christian faith, he was its superb exposition to the young.' The monument to Dr Woodward sums up the man and his ministry thus: 'a fearless leader. A devoted shepherd. A true father in God and in the dark hour of war, an example of spiritual strength.'
17. E. Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher: His Life and Times* (1991), p.221, claims that Mr Attlee's objections to Dr Cockin were based on the former's age, '67'. Dr Cockin was actually 57, one year younger than Dr Fisher.
18. Diocesan Church House, Diocesan Reorganisation Committee Minute Book 15 June 1944 - 20 May 1954 (hereafter D.R.C.M.). The subsequent volume of minutes from 14 December 1954 - 20 March 1958 is held in the Bristol Record Office. See also the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee, Planning Sub-Committee Minutes 17 December 1945 - 30 April 1954 also held there.
19. Except St Nicholas, City, which was not counted amongst the priorities. The incumbent, the Revd J.M.D. Stancomb, served on the committee.
20. D.R.C.M. p.13, 7 September 1945 stated it 'might be wise' to dispose of Christ Church with St Ewen which echoed the opinion of the Bishop's commission on the City Churches in 1939; p.24. On 31 May 1946 the sub-committee reported that they could see no problems with the demolition of the church and sale of the site. This was rejected by the main committee.
21. D.R.C.M. p.32, 31 May 1946, D.R.C.M. (not paginated) 6 October 1947, decided not to demolish St Thomas.
22. Bristol Record Office Unsorted papers marked DR 8/12, *London Gazette* 9 December 1958, St Nicholas was let by the Diocesan Board of Finance to the Corporation from 1 January 1965 for 99 years. Bristol Record Office, Diocesan Reorganisation Planning Sub-Committee Minutes 1945-1954 (no class mark) 11 December 1953, 13 January, 30 April, 11 December 1954, Diocesan Reorganisation Committee Minutes 1954-1958, unclassified, 14 December 1954, 25 July 1955, 19 July 1957, 20 March 1958. In 1958 the Revd Samuel Mostyn Forbes Woodhouse became first rector of the new parish, and in the same year, to protests from the church wardens, the patrons of Christ Church presented the Revd Samuel Alfred Culverwell to their living.
23. *Bristol Evening Post*, 6 September 1955.
24. *Western Daily Press*, 1 December 1879.

25. D.R.C.M. 22 November 1946 (not paginated), decided that as the churchmanship 'represented a school of thought which is not provided by any other church in the city' it must retain its spiritual entity. Pastoral Committee Minutes (hereafter P.C.M.) Volume 2, 1 December 1970, 5 March 1973, 21 May 1974.
26. P.C.M. 13 March, 26 April, 30 June, 30 September, 9 December 1966. Canon Gay was awarded an M.B.E. for his work as chaplain to an aircraft carrier during World War Two on the run to Murmansk. The Revd D.C. Johnson in a tribute says of him 'he was a man who loved God and loved people. A member of his church on seeing me in the congregation warned me: "this is a high church with a mission hall atmosphere". I came to know him and I loved the man'.
27. Detailed papers relating to this parish are held in the Bishop's House. See *Western Daily Press*, 28 January 1949, *Bristol Evening Post*, 29 January 1949.
28. He was first incumbent of the Anglo-Catholic church of St Gregory's, Horfield. *Bristol Evening Post*, 24 October 1960.
29. *The English Churchman and St James Chronicle*, 18 March 1949, Dr Cockin in a letter advising the Archbishop of Canterbury of the situation at Christ Church, Barton Hill, called Mr Stacey 'a queer tempered man' (3 June 1947). A man of ultra-protestant conviction, he once tried to stop an Anglo-Catholic service at St George's, Brandon Hill in mid-session.
30. Pastoral Committee, Bristol Sub-Committee, 5 January 1951.
31. Pastoral Committee, Bristol Sub-Committee, 16 May 1961.
32. D.R.C.M. 3 February, 23 May, 17 June, 14 September, 17 October, 22 November 1949, 16 January 1950, 2 March, 15 October 1951, 13 March 1952; B.J. Bendell, *The Parish Church of Clifton 1154-1954*, (Bristol, 1954), pp.31, 33.
33. The Revd P.D. Maddocks, vicar of St Paul's, retired shortly afterwards. In July 1954 the Pastoral Committee suggested the union of St Paul's with Emmanuel, Clifton. This came to nothing. P.C.M., 12 July 1954.
34. A detailed, scholarly work, which is unpaginated.
35. The congregation worshipped in the former parish hall. P.C.M. 29 October 1954. Alone of the Pastoral Committee, Canon Stancomb, by then a sick man, fought for St John's, Bedminster to be rebuilt on its old site.
36. Detailed papers relating to this parish are held in the Bishop's House.
37. The total cost of this work was £1,000.
38. P.C.M., P.C.C. Submission, 17 December 1951.
39. P.C.M., 20 September 1951.
40. P.C.M., 2 May 1951, 25 November 1952. At the latter it was reported that the Bishop had met the P.C.C. and decided that as it had no arguments which he had not previously heard, the decision to close the church stood.
41. See M. de Cossart, *George Melhuish, 1916-1985: artist, philosopher* (1990) p.24; for the sale of the land, *London Gazette* 28 July 1972.
42. In 1943 the electoral roll had 92 resident and 79 non-resident members, for 1952 see Appendix I. The average attendance at services in 1952 with their number in 1943 in brackets was 8:00 a.m. 60(15), 11:00 a.m. 80(25), 6:30 p.m. 90(35).
43. P.C.M., 26 May 1952.
44. P.C.M., 19 September 1967, 3 October 1968.

45. SS Philip and Jacob was the mother church of Holy Trinity, St Philip's; Holy Trinity was the mother church of St Luke's, Barton Hill, and St Luke's was the mother church of Christ Church, Barton Hill. Mr Claxton later became Bishop of Blackburn.
46. P.C.M. II, 12 March, 25 June, 30 September, 10 December 1965; 14 March, 30 September 1966, 21 March, 19 September 1967, 3 October 1968. The Revd Harold George Bulman of St Gabriel's was an Evangelical. He had been a C.M.S. missionary in Gahini, Rwanda, between 1937 and 1946, he was vicar of St Gabriel's from 1948 to 1954, curate in charge of St Lawrence between 1950 and 1954 and incumbent of the joint cure between 1954 and 1972. His church in the 1950 Pastoral Committee's visitation was in a flourishing condition (see Figure 1). In 1964 he still had 157 people on the electoral roll of whom 35 were resident. Mr Bulman and Mr Read of Holy Trinity strongly opposed the diocesan plans for their churches and parishes in the light of the Easton Comprehensive Development Plan.
47. B.L. Smith, *Bridging the Gaps*, (Bristol, 1975), p.3.
48. G.E. Thompson, *St Jude's and its Neighbourhood*, (Bristol, 1988), p.22; Anon, the centenary booklet entitled, *Church of St Jude* (Bristol, 1949).
49. *London Gazette*, 5 August 1982.
50. In 1982, the electoral roll stood at 238, and was over 100 more than any other church in the city deanery.
51. The main sources for this section are mostly to be found in the Bristol Record Office; Bishop's Consultative Committee Minutes 1947-1949, Diocesan Housing Areas Committee Minutes 1953-1971, and the Diocesan Housing Areas Committee, Buildings Sub-Committee Minutes 1955-1960.
52. This is an update of the table in the excellent pamphlet by E. Ralph and P.G. Cobb, *New Anglican Churches in Nineteenth Century Bristol* (1991).
53. For an excellent account of Anglo-Catholicism in Bristol, see the Revd Canon P.G. Cobb's *The Oxford Movement in Nineteenth Century Bristol* (1988). For the rules of the Guild, see: *The Bristol Church Guilds' Union: Objects, Constitution and Offices, Revised 1904* (Bristol, 1905). Women were eligible for all offices, except those of President and Vice-President.
54. J.G. Griffiths, *Fraternity of St Michael: Christ Church with St Ewen, Bristol* (Bristol, 1915).
55. All Saints', St Nicholas and Christ Church, City; St Gregory's, St Edmund and St Andrew's, Horfield; St Mary's and St John the Divine, Fishponds; St Dunstan, and St Aldhelm's, Bedminster; St Katharine's, Redland; Holy Nativity, Knowle; St Peter's, Bishopsworth; St Michael's, Bishopston.; St Michael's, Windmill Hill; All Saints', Clifton; St Anne's, Brislington; St George's, Brandon Hill; All Hallows', Easton; St Mary Redcliffe; St Mary's, Tyndall Park; St Katherine's, Knowle, a daughter church of Holy Nativity, Knowle; St Mary Redcliffe's daughter church, St Mary's Barnard Place; St Augustine-the-Less; St Raphael's, Cumberland Road; and St Martin's, Knowle. Minute Book III May 1908 - March 1938, in possession of the author. The Cathedral was also a member.
56. Minutes of the Fraternity of St Michael, Christ Church, City, 1932-1947, in possession of the author. The Guild had meetings in 1941 and 1942.
57. Minute Book IV p.126, 11 May 1955, in possession of the author. Canon Cartwright was vicar of St Mary Redcliffe from 1952-1972, with Temple from 1956, and St John, Bedminster from 1965, Hon. Canon of Bristol from 1960-1972, and Bishop Suffragan of Plymouth, 1972-1981.

Healthcare: the coming of the N.H.S.

DAVID LARGE

On the eve of the war, before the creation of the N.H.S., the health of Bristolians was cared for by an assortment of institutions and individuals ranging from the single handed G.P., reliant upon payments from patients, to the voluntary hospitals of the General, the Bristol Royal Infirmary (BRI), the Homoeopathic, the Children's, the Eye Hospital, Winford Orthopaedic, Cossham Memorial, the Walker Dunbar for Women and Children and the Bristol Maternity Hospital,¹ as well as the services and institutions provided by the City Council's department of health. These included Ham Green Hospital and Sanatoria for infectious and tubercular diseases, successor of the fever ship maintained by the Council in its role as Port Sanitary Authority; Southmead General, originally a Poor Law infirmary, and its annexe of Snowdon Road for long stay patients; Frenchay Park Sanatorium for tubercular children under sixteen; the emergency war hospital of Frenchay for medical and surgical cases; Mortimore House maternity hospital; together with residential and day nurseries, clinics and health centres.² In addition the City Council employed several dozen 'municipal midwives',³ managed laboratories for bacteriological and pathological work, and had prime responsibility under the Public Health Acts for attending to the sanitary condition of the city and the combatting of infectious diseases. The Council's Medical Officer of Health (MOH) from his office at the Central Health Clinic at Tower Hill headed up all this.

A separate Council committee was in charge of the City and County of Bristol's Mental Hospitals at Fishponds (better known later as Glenside)⁴ and recently established Barrow Gurney. The Council also supplemented the substantial provision for mental deficiency (as it was then called) created by the Burdens at Stoke Park, Leigh Court, Hanham Hall and elsewhere⁵ by founding Hortham Hospital or Colony as it was often called.

Problems and deficiencies existed in the pre-war healthcare provision. For example there was no hospital provision for the expanding districts of south Bristol. To call it a system would be a misnomer. As elsewhere, in Bristol, the institutions and services previously mentioned had emerged in an unplanned, haphazard way over decades, even centuries. Indeed, Bristolians were comparatively fortunate; the range and volume of care available was considerable. In particular, specialist care was to be found to a greater degree than in some parts of the country. But by

the thirties it was widely recognised that the voluntary hospitals were often in deep financial trouble thanks to the ever increasing cost of keeping pace with improved but costly innovations in treatments and the need to recruit more and better trained staff, particularly nurses and radiographers. The truth was that reliance on philanthropic gifts, flag days, and income from investments had long been insufficient to maintain them and recourse had to be made to charging patients considerable sums for hospital care. This in turn had led to various insurance schemes to aid those able to afford the premiums to pay for such care. There were many who could not. Long before the 1946 Act the more forward looking politicians, civil servants and doctors had been aware of the need to overhaul in substantial fashion Britain's hospitals. At the level of primary care a major deficiency was the simple fact that Lloyd George's 1911 sickness insurance system had been aimed basically at assisting the male manual working class. It made no provision for wives and children. Almost all G.P.s took panel patients as they were called. Indeed for some the capitation fees they received for doing so formed an important part of their incomes. Nonetheless many G.P.s sought to practice in well-off districts where patients could afford their charges. Practices could be bought to facilitate this. One upshot was that in deprived areas, such as the blackspots of high unemployment, G.P.s were very thin on the ground.⁶

The advent of war certainly had an impact. The BRI, the General and the Children's suffered bomb damage. Staff were publicly thanked by the King for their staunchness under fire.⁷ Also as a result of central government's Emergency Medical Service, designed to cater for an expected rush of war casualties, Winford acquired a new block of 160 beds paid for by the Ministry of Health, while Frenchay was greatly expanded with American help. The Forces also commandeered facilities. Barrow, for instance, became a naval hospital. But far and away the greatest change in the provision of health care in the city was brought about by the implementation from 5 July 1948 of the highly controversial National Health Service Act, 1946.

Broadly speaking, most hospital doctors welcomed an Act which proposed what amounted to nationalisation of the hospitals as they realised that it was only by the injection of state money that modernisation and rationalisation, not to mention better equipment, salaries and staffing, would become possible. Indeed, as far as Bristol hospital doctors were concerned, the government sponsored survey in 1946 of hospitals in southwest England must have made sweet reading. It declared that 'the regional hospital centre, the clinical capital of the service, the seat of medical training, both undergraduate and postgraduate,

and the main centre of nursing training, will obviously be at Bristol.' The survey went on to sketch an ambitious programme of new hospital building tentatively suggesting that a new general hospital to supersede the BRI, as well as new Children's and Maternity hospitals, should be sited south of the river Avon, while Southmead should be developed as a district hospital. In their general comments the surveyors stressed the need in the region for more consultants.⁸

On the other hand, the B.M.A., dominated by G.P.s, was strongly critical of the Labour government's proposals. G.P.s were often fiercely independent, usually practising from their private houses, and regarding themselves as serving their patients and their families rather than responding to the wishes of governments or local authorities. Both the B.M.A. and the government's Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan, frequently clashed and the language grew colourful. In Bristol, on publication of the N.H.S. Bill on 20 March 1946, the *Western Daily Press* reported that many doctors thought it contained what they had expected.⁹ The voluntary hospitals and the City Council made no immediate comment. Nonetheless a week later, on 28 March, in an unprecedentedly large gathering, 650 doctors from Bristol, Gloucestershire and Somerset met to debate the Bill behind closed doors at the Royal Fort. The main speaker was the well-known radio doctor, Charles Hill, who was also Secretary of the B.M.A. In a subsequent interview he maintained that doctors favoured reform but they differed with the government on crucial issues and felt that they had not been properly consulted. He claimed that the Bill would be the death of private practice and set out four principles on which the B.M.A. would make a stand: doctors should not become salaried servants of either the state or local authorities; doctors should be free to choose form, place and work without government direction; they should, as of right, be entitled to participate in public service; and they should be adequately represented on administrative bodies. Hill ended by declaring that the Bill needed amendment and warned the government that if it rejected amendment it would face strong opposition from the medical profession.¹⁰

But, in Bristol, the B.M.A. was on weak ground in insisting on a doctor's freedom to practise where he or she wished. Arthur Greenwood, winding up for the government on the second reading of the N.H.S. Bill, and defending its proposal for some limited direction of where doctors might practise, observed that on 'one of largest single-house estates in the country, in the south division of Bristol, with a population of 34,000, there was not one single resident medical man and efforts to induce people to go there had so far completely failed.'¹¹

Also with its massive majority in the Commons the government was in a strong position to face down opposition, as the Conservatives recognised. Their criticism of the Bill has been described as 'dutiful rather than spirited'.¹² Colonel Stanley, the able Conservative M.P. for Bristol West, chose as his targets for criticism the government's record on housing and the supply of food, goods and coal. He was notably silent on the N.H.S. measure, no doubt recognising that many agreed on the need for a comprehensive health service and that this could not be achieved without considerable disturbance of existing medical and hospital systems. Even the *Western Daily Press*, which was inclined to sympathise with critics of the Bill, nonetheless welcomed Bevan's promise that capitation fees would remain the source for paying G.P.s and urged doctors and hospitals spokesmen 'to observe a proper moderation'. It did not think they did so, later commenting that 'the moaning and shrieking progress of the N.H.S. measure did nobody credit.'¹³

In the end, on the eve of the N.H.S. Act coming into force on the appointed day of 5 July 1948, all of Bristol's G.P.s contracted to join the new service as appears from the winding up of the old sickness insurance system. Mr E. Hancock, Clerk to the Insurance Committee of the county borough, announcing that it would die on 4 July, said there remained just five or six doctors yet to sign up but he believed they would and then 100% of Bristol's 221 doctors would be contributors to the new scheme and already 210,000 were on doctors' lists and when babies and old people were included and others who had yet to sign on, the figure would rise to 310,000.¹⁴ This was confirmed at the first meeting on 20 July of the Executive Council, the body created by the N.H.S. Act to steer Family Practitioner, dental, eye and pharmaceutical services. All available suppliers of these services, apart from 25% of the dentists, had agreed to join the new scheme. Already the opticians were under seige. The Chairman of the Executive Council remarked that 'a large number of people seem to have waited until July 5 before getting glasses.'¹⁵

As for the hospitals, the N.H.S. Act, in the eyes of their governing bodies, amounted to a disaster. Mr Rayner, President of the Children's Hospital, declared that 'they were living in the most critical period in the life of voluntary hospitals and they had to face a revolution'. He complained that voluntary hospitals were underrated: 'there was the spiritual atmosphere which was as important as the medicine' and, above all, was 'the suddenness of the announcement that they were to be taken over'.¹⁶ C. Cyril Clarke, Chairman of the Royal Hospital Board, regretted that 'one of the sad features of the new N.H.S. was its abolition of honorary staff' who would all become salaried employees. He was

'appalled at the powers the Ministry of Health was assuming under the Act'. It was deplorable, he maintained, that the Boards of teaching hospitals would have so little voice in the management of their hospitals once they came under the aegis of the new Regional Hospital Boards on which existing members of voluntary hospital committees would have but few representatives. He drew some comfort from reflecting that this 'would remove the hospitals from the sphere of local politics'. But in the end, he concluded 'the fact is we have had our day.' As will be seen this was not entirely the case.¹⁷

Besides the governing bodies of the voluntary hospitals, both the University and the City Council were much affected by the N.H.S. Act. The ending of the war was the signal for an upsurge of activity in the universities. Considerable increases in student numbers occurred as demobilised service men and women, provided with generous financial aid by the government, sought to resume their education and build careers interrupted by war. Bristol University envisaged expanding from its pre-war just under a thousand students to about 2,500. Its recently appointed Vice Chancellor, Sir Philip Morris was much exercised about the future of its Medical School. In particular, responding to a request from the Senate of the University, he drew up a paper challenging the views of the government sponsored survey of the hospitals of the southwest. He insisted that the survey's proposal that a new Hospital Centre for Bristol should be built on a site south of the Avon ignored the true needs of the Medical School. He argued that the bulk of the practical work of clinical students should be as near as possible to the University and developing the St Michael's Hill site was both feasible and the best option. Needless to say, the University won that battle.¹⁸ Furthermore, the University Grants Committee (UGC), the instrument by which the government sought to provide financial help for universities, was enlisted by the Ministry of Health to help with the launching of its new baby, the N.H.S. In the spring of 1946 the UGC toured the country examining all teaching hospitals. Its particular concern in Bristol was Southmead which the university medical faculty wished to make greater use of for teaching purposes.¹⁹

Southmead Hospital had started life as a Poor Law Infirmary but with the transfer of much of Poor Law functions to local authorities by the major Local Government Act of 1929 it had become the responsibility of the City Council and, in particular, of its Health Committee. The Council in the thirties had sought to develop it as a general hospital doing work of the same standard as the voluntary hospitals while its elderly infirm, long stay, public assisted patients were to be looked after at Snowden Road. The Health Committee had also planned to make it a

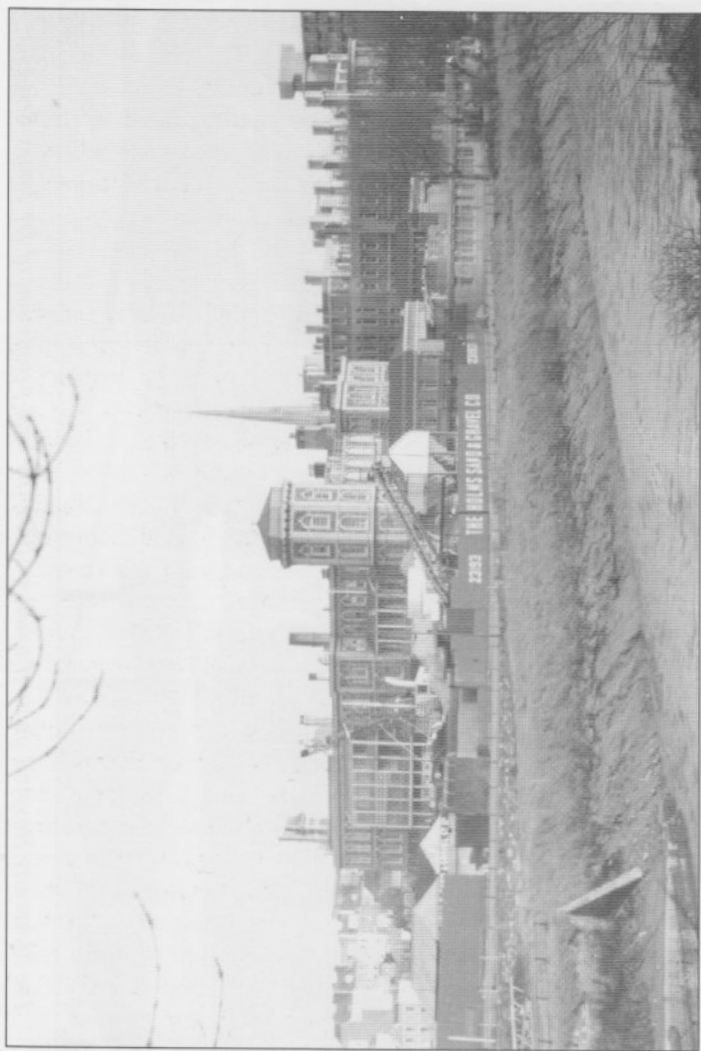
major hospital resource for maternity cases. For this there was a growing need as both units of the Royal Hospital (i.e. the BRI and the General which had amalgamated under this title on the eve of war) decided to scrap their maternity beds while the voluntary Bristol Maternity Hospital, at this time housed in three scattered buildings in High Kingsdown, had only sixty beds. The trend was for an increasing number of births to take place in hospital.²⁰ After the war the Health Committee regarded the voluntary Maternity Hospital as of relatively minor importance, opposing proposals that it should be amalgamated with the Royal Hospital. The Committee prided itself on providing a unified hospital and domiciliary service in its clinics for mothers-to-be and on encouraging new developments in the care of the newborn such as the Newborn Unit to which the well known paediatrician, Dr Beryl Corner, was appointed as director in 1943.²¹ Nonetheless, the Maternity Hospital survived and in 1950 was provided with a new and more commodious home in the shape of the adapted Queen Victoria Memorial Convalescent Home at the top of Blackboy Hill from which it was to emigrate in due course to a brand new home at the top of St Michael's Hill.

But the advent of the N.H.S. substantially altered the City Council's role in providing health care. The most striking change was embodied in a circular from the Ministry of Health in October 1947 which, as the Town Clerk explained to the Health Committee, listed the hospitals and clinics administered by the Council which were to be transferred to the ownership of the Secretary of State. The list included Southmead General Hospital and the Snowdon Road Annexe, Ham Green Hospital and Sanatorium which the City Council had created as long ago as 1899 and run ever since, the Bristol Mental Hospital, Fishponds (i.e. Glenside) which had cost Bristol ratepayers many, many hundreds of thousand pounds to build and run,²² the then up-to-date Barrow Gurney Mental Hospital opened in 1939,²³ Hortham Colony (its official name) for patients with learning difficulties, as well as two V.D. clinics, the Charterhouse-on-Mendip Sanatorium for T.B. cases, and the Mental Hospital clinic at Grove Road just off Blackboy Hill.²⁴

All these were to come under the aegis of a new body, the South West Regional Hospital Board, reporting to the Minister of Health and having charge of hospitals from Lands End to Gloucester. There were those who criticised this machinery as likely to create a bureaucracy remote from hospitals and thus inhibiting their development. As far Bristol was concerned, in the early days at least, this appeared invalid. The very first meeting of the new Board took place on 18 July 1948, by kind permission of the University, in the Council Chamber in the Wills Memorial Building and its first home was a villa at No 6 Elton Road,



The Maternity Hospital photographed in 1971 (by kind permission of Dr James Briggs).



*The General Hospital photographed in 1971 with the former sand wharf at Bathurst Basin
(by kind permission of Dr James Briggs).*

Tyndalls Park, which was quite literally just round the corner from the Homeopathic Hospital, and just up the hill from the BRI. Nonetheless, the City Council could only expect to play a limited role in the new Board. As Charles Webster commented 'Bevan went to extreme lengths to avoid any suspicion that the new Regional Hospital Boards were being handed over to the Labour local government interest'.²⁵ Alderman John Milton, chairman of the City Council's Health Committee, was the only member of the Council appointed by the Minister to the new Board. In 1946 he had unavailingly expressed the view that 'the fact that elected representatives of the public as members of local authorities would be in a minority on the Regional Hospital Boards and Hospital Management Committees was a retrograde step and opposed to the democratic system which had been built up in this country'.²⁶ The new Board was chaired by H.G. Tanner. As the just-retired managing director of E. S. & A. Robinson Ltd., a leading Bristol enterprise, Chairman of Friends Provident and Century Life Office, Treasurer of Bristol University, and of mature years, he conformed to the general pattern of appointments to chairs of Regional Hospital Boards. As a former Sheriff of Bristol, a city J.P. since 1934 and long time resident, he was certainly likely to bear the interests of Bristol in mind.²⁷ Also, clearly, he would have been at home and acceptable in the governing bodies of the former voluntary hospitals. Indeed at the first meeting of the new Board he appealed to members to be tender towards those who had been concerned with the voluntary institutions who were distrustful of the new system and envisaged the hospital management committees, prescribed by the N.H.S. Act, as making 'the fullest possible use of voluntary efforts, preserving traditions and the personal touch ... associated with our medical institutions.'

The Chairman went on to declare that the Board faced an enormous task, would have to learn on the job, and that it was essential that members should get to know one another. Apart from Alderman Milton, a staunch Bristolian, and the Chairman, Bristol's interests on the Board were represented by the Vice Chancellor of the University, Dr R.E. Hemphill, the Superintendent of the Bristol Mental Hospital, Professor R. Milnes Walker, Professor of Surgery at the University's Medical School and R.J. Brocklehurst, Professor of Physiology at the University. In short, six of the twenty-eight members might be expected to speak up for Bristol. Perhaps it was not surprising that, at once, a regional committee for Devon and Cornwall had to be established with an office in Plymouth to balance the Bristolian interest.²⁸

One of the earliest tasks of the new Board was to propose, in response to Ministry request, which hospitals should be designated for teaching purposes and hence come under the authority of Governors as

specified in the Act. There was no difficulty in agreeing that Bristol Royal, the Children's, the Eye, the Maternity and the University's Dental Hospital should be regarded as teaching institutions, but what about Southmead? Teaching of students was taking place there and all were agreed that this should continue and be developed but the Board was divided as to whether this meant that the hospital should form part of the teaching hospital group. The Vice Chancellor said that the University Medical Faculty was 'strongly of the opinion that the best interests of all concerned would be served by Southmead being administered by the same body as the other hospitals'. He emphasised the vital part which it played in the training of students. Other members argued that without Southmead the Regional Board would have no general hospital of sufficient size in the Bristol area to enable satisfactory grouping of the remaining hospitals. The Board's minutes record that discussion on the issue was 'prolonged'. Eventually a motion that Southmead should not be designated a teaching hospital was carried 20:3.²⁹

Once this issue was resolved the way was clear for the Board to agree proposals for the grouping of hospitals throughout the region and the establishment of Hospital Management Committees to administer each group. As far as Bristol was concerned nine groups were suggested with management committees varying in size from ten to twenty-one. Several groups included institutions both in Bristol and outside. For example Group 1 included Southmead (623 beds), Snowdon Road (289 beds), Wendover County Maternity Home at Downend, Mortimore House, and, in Gloucestershire, Almondsbury and Berkeley Hospitals and Thornbury Public Assistance Institution with 90 beds. This last, better known as the workhouse for the now defunct Poor Law Union of Thornbury, was renamed Thornbury Hospital, just as the Stapleton workhouse, on the coming of the N.H.S. became Stapleton Hospital, the Eastville workhouse became 100 Fishponds Road, and Keynsham and Wells workhouses now sported the title of hospitals and formed part of Group 2 headed by Bristol Homeopathic. Several groups such as groups seven and eight and nine consisted of specialist institutions, seven comprising all the mental health provision and the latter two all the institutions for what were then known as the mentally handicapped.

Creating the Hospital Management Committees (HMCs) was a considerable task for the Regional Hospital Board and its officers. Members of the HMCs were to be selected from names put forward by Bristol, Gloucestershire and Somerset in their capacities as local health authorities as specified in Part 111 of the N.H.S. Act from names submitted by the Executive Councils in the same authorities, names proposed by senior members of the medical and dental staff, by the

University of Bristol and the former voluntary hospitals and an array of voluntary bodies.³⁰ While all this was going on in preparation for 5 July 1948, the Appointed Day for the launch of the N.H.S., it is pleasing to report that on 26 May the Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan, who had recently upset his Conservative opponents by dubbing them spivs in a public address in Manchester, nevertheless came down to Bristol to meet the Regional Board and, as its minutes record, engaged in an informal discussion with members. The Minister tactfully said that he realised that the South West Region was 'administratively the most difficult of all the Regions' and he congratulated the Board on what they had done already while emphasising his anxiety to get the HMCs appointed as early as possible. Then, as the minutes record in some detail, he engaged in dialogue with members.³¹ In due course the HMCs were established as well as the Governors of the teaching hospital group.

Although the City Council no longer maintained and took responsibility for hospitals, the N.H.S. Act still assured it of a considerable part to play in providing health care for Bristolians. Part 111 of the Act designated county boroughs like Bristol as a local health authority and in 1947 the Council, struggling as it was with acute housing problems, to mention but one of its tribulations, was busy making plans to carry out its duties as such. The Council's Health Committee's proposals 'in the main made provision for the continuance and expansion of existing services' provided either by the local authority or by voluntary organisations contracted by the Council. The N.H.S. Act itself obliged the Council as local health authority to provide a variety of services. For instance, section 26 required it to make arrangements with G.P.s to provide free vaccination against smallpox and immunisation against diphtheria. The Council was to pay the doctors while the Ministry provided the sera free of charge. Section 27 required the Council to provide an ambulance service also free of charge. Up to this time the Council's ambulance service had been limited to conveying infectious cases to its own hospital at Ham Green and maternity and sickness cases to the municipal Southmead Hospital. A variety of voluntary organisations operated services to the voluntary hospitals. Now the Council had to assume responsibility for all ambulance services, to provide which it estimated it would have to virtually double the number of vehicles it had and would need to construct a central station and three or four sub-stations.³²

The Council also was responsible for a range of services to be delivered at home. Some of these it had been providing before the advent of the N.H.S. Midwifery, the care of mothers and young children, and health visiting were cases in point. The Council noted that the N.H.S.

Act would permit it to make arrangements with voluntary organisations for providing health visitors but it opted to go on employing them itself while recognising their number would have 'to be considerably increased to meet the requirements of the Act'. The Act also required the Council to establish a wholly new service of home nursing. For launching this the Council was prepared to seek the help of the Bristol District Nursing Association with which it opened negotiations. The Council also planned to run a limited service entitled Prevention of Illness, Care and Aftercare which was targeted at T.B. and V.D. cases, but for a Domestic Help service, while employing some helpers, it relied in part on Bristol Council of Social Service which was asked to limit its efforts to the aged and infirm and to submit an annual report to the Council on its activities.³³

The N.H.S. Act gave local health authorities power to provide health centres in which all branches of the medical services might function. Bristol had the distinction of being the first authority in the country to open a purpose-built centre when the William Budd Centre in Knowle West started work in 1952. Its protagonists, particularly Dr R.C. Wofinden, deputy MOH, saw it as an answer to the inadequacy of medical services in this large estate of council houses which Arthur Greenwood had referred in the debate on the N.H.S. Bill. His superior R.H. Parry, the MOH, was less enthusiastic, commenting that 'there is a strong intelligent public opinion against the principle of health centres and it argues that the "human touch" so essential in the family doctor will be lost unless he is encouraged to develop a personal service from his own personal surgery'.³⁴

There were, it should be emphasised, a considerable array of activities of the Council's health department which were not directly affected by the launching of the N.H.S. It provided twelve ante-natal clinics at which there were over 6000 attendances in 1946, seven post-natal clinics and twenty-six child welfare clinics at which sixty-four sessions took place weekly. In addition, it ran thirteen day nurseries, three residential nurseries, one municipal mother and baby home and was responsible for providing dental treatment for expectant mothers and children under five³⁵. Furthermore, the City's MOH was also the School Medical Officer for the city and as such was responsible for promoting the health of children in the Council's schools. Lastly, the MOH's department had the duty of attending to the environmental health services, a task which had been its concern for the past hundred years. This involved attention to the sanitary condition of the city, the state of its housing, the quality of its food supplies, its vital statistics and infectious diseases and, as a port, the special hazards which this entailed.³⁶

Nevertheless, although some aspects of health care in the city were little affected by the coming of the N.H.S., this clearly involved a revolution for its medical community. For local politicians, administrators, and publicly spirited individuals, creating the new bodies and accompanying officers, and responding to the frequent promptings of the Ministry of Health, was a very substantial job. Indeed in national terms the creation of the N.H.S. was a task comparable in scale to the nationalisation of the mines or of transport. No doubt it was a vastly ambitious project for a government beset by major economic problems and faced with severe challenges in international affairs. There can be little doubt that at street level, if one may put it that way, the objective of providing a comprehensive health service, free at the point of contact, was greatly welcomed. The press was soon full of stories about the take-up of spectacles, dentures and even wigs. Certainly the cost to the taxpayer was grossly underestimated in the early years and the stage was set for many a controversy over funding the service, but what cannot be denied is that as an institution the N.H.S. eventually succeeded in becoming among the most treasured in the country.

Footnotes

1. For a concise history of these hospitals see C. Bruce Perry, *The Voluntary medical institutions of Bristol*, Bristol 1984. A fortnight after the beginning of the war, after much travail, the BRI and the General achieved amalgamation and were known as The Royal Hospital, for which see C. Bruce Perry, *The Bristol Royal Infirmary 1904-1974*, Bristol 1981, chap.5.
2. R.H. Parry, Bristol's MOH, describes these in *The Lancet* 30 Mar. 1946 pp.471-2.
3. For a list of them see *Kelly's Directory of Bristol* 1947.
4. For its nineteenth century history see D. Large, *The Municipal Government of Bristol*, Bristol Record Society publications 1999, chap.6.
5. For a recent account see S. Fanous, 'Burden's Legacy' in *Nonesuch*, the University of Bristol magazine, autumn 1999, pp.44-6.
6. For an authoritative assessment of the state of hospitals and the provision of primary care on the eve of war see Charles Webster, *The health Services since the War*, 1988 vol.1, especially chap.1.
7. See *The Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal* vol.LIX (1942) pp.66-70.
8. The quotation is from the *BMJ* 18 May 1946 summarizing the Ministry of Health's publication *Hospital Survey: the hospital services of the south-western area* 1945. A copy of this is in Bristol University's medical library at stack cc1c gre. It is not a parliamentary or command paper and hence difficult to find.
9. *Western Daily Press* (WDP) 22 Mar. 1946.
10. *ibid* 28 Mar. 1946.
11. *H.C. Debates* vol.402 cols.400-1.

12. C. Webster, *op. cit.* p.99.
13. WDP 29 April, 1 May 1946, 5 July 1948.
14. *ibid* 29 June 1948; the insurance committee was not a City Council committee but existed to record the number of patients insured as a result of the sickness insurance scheme introduced in 1911, and with which doctors they were registered, so that such 'panel' doctors could be remunerated according to the number of insured patients for whom they were responsible.
15. WDP 21 July 1948.
16. *ibid* 3 May 1946.
17. *ibid* 4 May 1946.
18. *Minutes of Senate* 27 Mar., 20 May 1946 (University of Bristol Library, Special Collections).
19. *Minutes of the Health Committee of the City Council* (MHC) at Bristol Record Office (BRO) 26 Mar., 2 April 1946.
20. M. Summers and S. Bowman, *Of Poor Law, Patients and Professionals, a history of Bristol's Southmead Hospital*, Bristol 1995, and C.J.G. Saunders *the Bristol Maternity Hospital*, Bristol 1961, for useful treatments.
21. M. Summers and S. Bowman, *op. cit.* p.51.
22. D. Large, *op. cit.* chaps.5 & 6.
23. M.G. Barker, *Barrow Hospital*, Bristol 1989.
24. *MHC* 7 Oct. 1947.
25. C. Webster, *op. cit.* p.274.
26. *MHC* 9 April 1946.
27. There is a useful biography in *Who was Who* vol. vii.
28. *Minutes of the South West Regional Hospital Board* (MRHB) at BRO. 18 July 1947.
29. *MRHB* 24 Oct., 5 Dec. 1947.
30. *ibid* 9 Jan. 1948.
31. *ibid* 20 May 1948.
32. *MHC* 15 July 1947.
33. *ibid* 23 Sept., 7 Oct. 1947.
34. R.H. Parry, *The Health of Bristol in 1951*, pp.6 and 30-1 of Special Reports.
35. *MHC* 7 Oct. 1947.
36. D. Large, *op. cit.* chap.4.

Public Transport in Bristol 1945-1965

GERRY NICHOLS

The state of public transport in Britain in 1945, and Bristol in particular, reflected the immediate pre-war situation exacerbated by the economic effects of the War. Rationing of petrol had virtually eliminated private motoring. Outside the largest conurbations with surface and underground suburban railway systems, the bus had taken over from the tram as the mass urban passenger mover. The railways had a virtual monopoly of long-distance movement of passengers and goods. However the experience of wartime rail travel, with its delays, overcrowding and dirt, served only to fuel the general desire, as soon as it could be afforded, for individuals to obtain the freedom of choice that a car provided. Controls on materials and transport for the war effort were accepted but in peace-time, industry in general (and service industries in particular) wanted to take control of their distribution process and costs. In the period 1945 to 1955, the economic climate permitted little radical change. Following the Suez Crisis of 1956 a more sustained period of economic growth set the seeds for the changes of the 1970s such as the construction of the Motorway network between 1965 and 1975, a boom in demand for offices and the advent of North Sea oil and gas. In Britain and Bristol the period 1945 to 1965 saw a reinforcement of existing processes rather than radical change: the subsequent decades between 1965 and 1985 saw the nadir of public transport culminating in deregulation and privatisation.

Setting the Scene

The physical geography of Bristol dictates many of the public transport problems. The road system is essentially radial constrained by the rivers and hills: any north-south road journey requires a crossing of the River Avon or the Floating Harbour and all journeys involve negotiating considerable hills. The historical development of the railway means that it either runs where people do not live or provides such circuitous routes to a station remote from the City Centre as to be unattractive (given the strong British antipathy to using more than one mode of transport). The 'bowl' shape of the Central area of Bristol makes cycling unattractive for commuting into the City Centre: it is easy in one direction only!

The situation of Bristol at the boundary of Gloucestershire and Somerset has produced strong differences in the spread of the

conurbation due to planning policies. In Gloucestershire, the industrial areas of Kingswood and Filton and Patchway were joined onto the City by ribbon development and subsequent infilled by housing. Somerset strongly defended the 'Green Belt' so that, once housing reached the City boundary, further development was based on existing villages such as Nailsea, Portishead, Clevedon and Keynsham. These new communities were virtually exclusively planned to have public transport provision by bus, for instance the passenger rail service to Portishead was withdrawn in 1964 only five years before the first major estate of new houses was built. As the war-damaged and slum areas were replaced by housing estates on the north, east and south edges of the conurbation, the City Centre moved further to the south and west of the centre of the conurbation. Thus commuting and shopping trips by road required longer journeys on urban radial roads.

Bristol's industrial base has also changed radically. The last coal mines within the City boundary closed before the Second World War and most heavy industry migrated from the urban area to Avonmouth under pressures of space and clean air legislation. Within the period of this review, large numbers were employed in the tobacco industry, most living close to the factories. The aircraft industry on the north of the City fell back from its wartime peak but remained a very large employer of skilled and professional staff. Within the City, the formation of large national Companies by nationalisation and agglomeration meant the establishment of regional offices for the Southwest. In due course, Government policy made it attractive for firms to move their head office operation from London to provincial centres, particularly to Bristol with its good national communications and an appropriately skilled workforce.

All of these factors produced an environment where there was an increased need to travel to get to work and both the financial means and the wish to purchase a motor car from the mid 1950s. This was a national as well as local trend, as shown by the following figures.

National Trends in Public Transport¹

Year	Passenger Journeys (billion passenger-km)	Bus/Coach	Car/Van	M/cycle	Bicycle	Rail
1952	219	42%	27%	3%	11%	18%
1967	369	17%	70%	2%	2%	9%

Between 1951 and 1966, the number of households in the United Kingdom increased from 14.5 to 17.4 million and the households with regular use of a car increased from 14% to 45%, i.e. there were four times as many private cars on the roads. Within Bristol a Survey carried

out in 1950² showed that 99% of journeys to work by public transport were by bus making up 42% of the total, i.e. public transport within the City of Bristol is virtually synonymous with bus transport. The 43% who did not use public transport used bicycle (17%), foot (15%), car (9%) or motorcycle (2%). By the 1971 Census, 60% of Bristol households had a car available, which per head of population was higher than any other conurbation in England and Wales.

Before the Second World War significant changes had been made in the late 1930s as the economic depression receded. In 1937, at last, the Corporation's septennial option to purchase the tramway system was exercised, ending the process which had blighted investment in the development of street tramway equipment (the form of the Bristol tram remained essentially unaltered from its introduction in 1895 to its demise on 11 April 1941). There never appears to have been serious consideration of the modern tram as an alternative to the bus from the 1920s as evidenced by the failure to implement the high speed tramway for which the Portway was designed. Instead of being a two-lane road with central tram reservation it became one of the first four-lane roads in the country when it opened in 1926. Crucial to this was the Town Meeting of 11 January 1922 which voted for buses instead of either trams or trolley buses 'to allow complete interplay of all forms of private, commercial and public transport'.³ The Bristol Transport Act which received its Royal Assent on 1st October 1937 provided for the Corporation to acquire the tramway undertaking for an agreed sum of £1,125,000 and to pay £235,600 towards half the cost of replacement bus services, i.e. new vehicles, garage accommodation and road reinstatement. The formal route for co-ordination on the services within the City was through the Transport Joint Committee (TJC) formed of Corporation and, as it was then, Bristol Tramways and Carriage Company (BTCC) representatives. As an aside on the abandonment of the trams, at the TJC of 5 May 1938 the Corporation representatives felt 'it would be objectionable to use old tramcars for dwellings or other purposes and they would prefer them to be broken up or burned'. This predates the closure of the Westbury route (7 May 1938) and the vandalism at the end of the Brislington route on 22 July 1938. There was no reference to any thought of preservation, hence the almost total lack of substantial artefacts of Bristol's electric trams. All bus operation was by BTCC whose mileage was categorised as A (the Joint Services within the City boundaries), B (Joint Services operated outside the City boundaries for which there was balancing BTCC Country service mileage within the City boundaries) and C (BTCC Country services outside the City boundaries). The formal minutes of these meetings⁵ hint at some of

the frustration felt by the City Councillors at not being able to influence the operational practices of BTCC. Briefings of the local press on TJC meetings by the City representatives caused very strong objections by the Company and attempts to ensure that all press briefing was on an agreed joint statement.

Evidence of the planners' view of the role of the motor car and lorry in the life of the City is the construction of the first part of a dual carriage inner ring road immediately before the outbreak of War in 1939. The inexcusable vandalism of the bisection of Queen Square (reversed sixty years later) and the construction of Redcliffe Bridge across the Floating Harbour relieved some of the pressure on the Bristol Bridge crossing of the River Avon and the narrow Redcliffe Street. Similarly some progress in reducing traffic congestion came from the extension of culverting of the River Frome in the Centre. To provide part of the A38 Midlands to the South West route and avoid the City Centre, a dual carriageway Filton by-pass was built between Patchway and Brentry (to be later blocked by the construction of the Brabazon runway), Falcondale Road was built to by-pass Westbury and Canford Lane and Sylvan Way linked with the Portway and Cumberland Basin.

The railway scene in Bristol had remained stable for many years. The amalgamations resulting from the Railways Act 1921 gave rise to the Great Western Railway (GWR) almost unchanged in character but enlarged in scale from its predecessor and the London Midland and Scottish Railway (LMS) dominated at senior executive level by the Midland Railway which had served Bristol since 1846. The Government control of the railways accepted as necessary in the conditions of the First World War was never completely relaxed between the World Wars especially in respect of wages and conditions. There were some changes in 1928 allowing for the 'pooling' of traffic and elimination of duplication of provision. Government provision under the Loans and Guarantees Act of 1929 allowed for works to relieve unemployment: the Great Western Railway was one of the first to come forward and as part of its proposals Temple Meads Station was rebuilt and enlarged, colour light signalling was introduced and the capacity of the line doubled from Filton to Bedminster. However in Temple Meads Station, jointly owned by the GWR and LMS, not all of the signalling works were completed owing to the unwillingness of the LMS to contribute. Thus an LMS signal box was retained in the 'Old Station' which can still be seen. It has been pointed out that much of the GWR expenditure in Bristol as elsewhere in the West Country was aimed at improving passenger traffic especially the peak summer holiday traffic where serious delays were experienced. However in Bristol, the improvements also included the

reconstruction of the goods facilities on the north side of Temple Meads resulting in the largest covered goods facility in Europe⁵. To celebrate the Centenary of the Great Western in 1935, a high-speed express train service, the 'Bristolian' was introduced with a 105 minute schedule. However beside the one fast train in each direction, the remaining ten or so daily London services averaged 140 minutes for the journey. Immediately before the Second War the 'Square Deal Campaign' of the Railway Companies' promoted relaxation in the legal obligations of the railways (acceptance of all traffic offered, publication of charges, provision of a reasonable level of service, avoidance of 'undue preference' in the treatment of customers) to meet the challenge of more flexible and less constrained road transport. However nothing was achieved before the outbreak of the Second World War.

Wartime Changes

The bombing of Wine Street and Castle Street in November 1940 has been said to have ripped the social, emotional and commercial heart out of Bristol⁶. Castle Street was the City's main shopping street with all the important stores located upon it and was also the main focus of its night life being packed with people on both Saturday and Sunday nights. The immediate needs of people for employment and shops meant that alternatives quickly developed, whether planned or ad hoc. In the main these were on existing radial routes such as Whiteladies Road, East Street, Bedminster and Stapleton Road where shopping and traffic had to co-exist. The railways were worked to absolute capacity with a minimum of essential maintenance. The only passenger closure was the loss of the Clifton Down to Fishponds and Mangotsfield service: this was temporarily suspended following the bombing of Montpelier Station on 30 March 1941 as the temporary track was not to passenger standards and was never restored. By the end of the War there were considerable shortages of equipment and labour and a backlog of maintenance leading to the nationalisation of British Railways on 1 January 1948. The formation of the British Transport Commission included the takeover of the Tilling Group who in effect owned BTCC. However as noted in the TJC Minutes of 18 March 1948, the 1947 Act did not allow the British Transport Commission to take over a Joint Committee established by prior legislation which affected Keighley and York buses as well as Bristol. Thus as far as the bus operation was concerned, there were no immediate changes of representation or process.

Post War Reconstruction

The planned approach published in the 1944 Reconstruction Plan was for designation of 'zones' between the main radial routes as single use

precincts for warehouse, industrial, residential, business and shopping, education and public service uses. While socially this meant that the diversity of the City Centre was doomed, more significantly there was no proposal for a significant residential area. Small areas were set aside in Redcliffe for mainly public housing in the form of flats for 'key workers' (on the docks, railways and in local industry). However the overall strategy was to encourage residential development on green field sites on the periphery of the conurbation at Lawrence Weston, Southmead, Lockleaze and Hartcliffe.

Unlike the rest of Europe, the mind-set in the United Kingdom, and Bristol in particular, during the period 1945 to 1965 could see no alternative to the bus. The first proposals for a return to tramway technology or Light Rail transport only appeared in 1965 and despite progress made elsewhere (Manchester and Sheffield) have still not produced any concrete outcomes in Bristol. Thus the key planning decisions for remote housing estates and office development in the City Centre inevitably meant large daily tidal flows of commuters by either bus or car. As noted in the introductory section, the answer for the Bristolian was overwhelmingly to commute by car. By the time Avon published its Transport Policies and Programme in 1983, 56% of residents travelled to work by car.

In 1946 a Development Plan was published and the written survey and analysis was published in 1952⁷. Under communications, the reasons for the acute traffic congestion were perceived as:

- Lack of adequate river crossings
 - Intersection of the A4 and A38 at St Augustine's Parade
 - Lack of a by-pass for traffic between the Midlands and the South West
 - Important district shopping centres sited on main radial inlets to the City
 - Narrow streets in the Central Area (combined with lack of car parking).
- The solutions proposed were to:
- Complete the Inner Circuit Road from Centre to Old Market to Temple Meads
 - Complete the Inner Ring Road (Improve Cumberland Basin, Falcondale Road to Filton, continue Falcondale Road to North East between Charlton Road and Southmead Estate to the City boundary and the A38, (Filton to the Kingsway is the responsibility of Gloucestershire County Council), Construct link Kingsway to Brislington, Construct link from Callington Road to the Wells Road, Extend Air Port Road to Crox Top (Hartcliffe)
 - Improve the radial outlet to the South West by a link to the proposed Exeter to Leeds trunk road at Ashton Bridge

- Construct an alternative to the Filton by-pass with a new road Cribbs Causeway to Brentry Hill
- Construct a link road from the Inner Ring Road at Crox Top (Hartcliffe) to the A38
- By-pass East Street, Bedminster via Stillhouse Lane, Church Road St George, Henbury village to the east and north
- New bridge over the Feeder for Netham Road
- Parkway from the Inner Circuit Road to the London and South West Motorway.

Under car parking it was noted that 6,500 cars were parked at any one time, of which about 4,000 were parked on the streets. It was recognised that multi-storey car parks would be necessary and that developers should be 'encouraged to provide private surface and underground car parks within their curtilages'.

Within the period of this review, very little of the above was achieved. The Cumberland Basin improvements were started in 1964 and completed in 1970. The first section of Motorway locally was the Cribbs Causeway to Almondsbury section of what became the M5 (quaintly known as the Filton By-pass Substitute!) opened in 1964. The opening of the Severn Bridge in September 1966 also saw the opening of the Tormarton to Chepstow section of the M4. By 1971 one could drive as far as Chippenham and from Reading to London but the M4 was not completed from London to Bristol until 1973. Construction of the M5 to Avonmouth began in 1967 and was completed in 1969, however the problems with the Avonmouth Bridge meant that the section beyond Portbury was not connected until 1975. Bristolians became adept in using side-roads to avoid bottle-necks or cross major roads by a left turn into the traffic and a right turn rather than crossing both streams at once. While the 'rat-run' may not have been coined in Bristol, it accurately describes most cross-town journeys. A measure of the car parking and traffic problems is that Bristol became the first United Kingdom city outside London to install parking meters for on-street parking.

Bus Services 1945-1965

Within Bristol, the bus service in 1945 comprised a network of replacements for the mainly radial tram routes plus the bus services that had developed where tram extension was not practical, economic or desired (for instance the service to Clifton and the Suspension Bridge) (see 1949 Route List Appendix 1). More buses were needed to complete the tram replacement and war damage. To meet an increase over the previous year of 5.5 million passengers over the ten months October



The Centre in 1946. The large building in the background of the bottom photograph is the Co-operative Wholesale Society from which the cover photograph was taken.



1945 to August 1946, 50 double decker buses were needed in 1947. Bristol could not supply these and so for the only time within the period, chassis were bought from another manufacturer (Leyland). The first 25 were delivered in March 1947 and became a fixture at the Eastville Depot on its services such as the 2 and 83. It was noticeable that they were sold in 1960 well before the contemporary Bristol K type buses disappeared. In November 1945, withdrawal of staggered hours at BAC meant hiring 23 vehicles until the Company agreed to different clerical and shopfloor times. In December 1947 there was a shortage of buses to provide transport for workers constructing the Lawrence Weston Estate; it was hoped that 20 contract buses in use for workers on the Brabazon Runway construction would shortly be available. The impression is clear that keeping the services running was a hand to mouth situation. In March 1949 it was reported that there was a shortage of linen for destination blinds, presumably delaying service changes. Muller Road and Winterstoke Garages, which had been planned and built as part of the tram replacement process, had been requisitioned in September 1941 for aircraft production. The Air Ministry supplied new hangar garages which were sited on Bristol City Football Ground (17 March 1941 to 25 May 1946), Duckmoor Road (17 May 1941 to 30 April 1946) and Filton Park (8 March 1941). Muller Road was de-requisitioned in June 1945 but Winterstoke Road only became available again to the BTCC in June 1946 to give adequate servicing and maintenance facilities.

As noted above, the movement of house construction to out-of-town estates meant that the radial routes from the Centre had to be extended to provide services:

- September 1948 services to Knowle and Lockleaze Stage 1 required an extra 10322 miles/week;
- January 1951, 1 terminated at Stockwood Lane instead of Brislington;
- March 1954 buses extended to Hartcliffe leading to complaints from the Bedminster Down Estate of a poorer service;
- October 1955, 84 extended to Bromley Heath Road and 284 to Downend Trident.

One result of these extensions was that the number of 'turns' required to be staffed on the Joint Services rose from 1120 per day in 1952 to 1150 in 1955 with consequences on staffing to be considered later.

In some cases there was a clear problem of co-ordination: in March 1949 no suitable road was available for bus access to the Lawrence Weston Estate via Kingsweston Lane, requiring a 15 minute walk. It was not until Long Cross was completed 26 March 1950 that a Long Cross to Sea Mills 28C service started connecting with 2 via Whiteladies Road

to the Centre. Access to the Stockwood Estate was not possible from Whitchurch as Somerset County Council were responsible for a part of the link road which required improvement before the Police would agree to its use by service buses; in practice the introduction of the Lodekka bus in December 1954 which could go under the low railway bridge allowed the Estate to be served from West Town Lane.

It was not until March 1950 that it was possible to extend the time of the last bus on weekdays from 22.30 to 23.00 and then only on twenty-three of the services including six services to housing estates (Filton, Southmead, Avonmouth). In October 1957 the time of the last bus from the Centre was extended from 23.00 to 23.30. As part of the economies to meet the 1959 wage settlement the last bus left at 23.15 instead of 23.30.

A recurrent theme throughout the period is the shortage of staff to run the services. The TJC were informed in December 1946 that there were only 15 non-members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) so that effectively it was a closed shop. In September 1950 the Company representatives, noting complaints of non-collection of fares, stated that high wastage among male conductors and prejudice against employment of women restricted recruitment of additional conductresses. In September 1951, in the context of discussion on the wage increase application, there was an unofficial ban on overtime. As there was a shortage of 15% in staff, maintenance of a full service was only possible with overtime. The working week was a six-day week of 48 hours in 1945 which came down to 44 hours in 1947 with 12 days' paid holiday after one year's service. In 1955 noting that BTCC were short of 260 drivers and 150 bus conductors, the average working week for Bristol bus drivers was quoted as 58 hours, i.e. an extra 14 hours. With respect to working conditions, 'they do not get a five day week, they work at weekends and at a lot of very inconvenient hours – split turns (05.00-13.00 and 16.00-19.30 or 06.00-09.30 and 15.00-23.30) are the lot of transport men and women everywhere'⁸. Unlike the railways, where pension provision through a superannuation scheme was established before 1900 on the Great Western Railway, there was no pension provision beyond the State scheme on the buses at this time. The working week was shortened to 42 hours in 1960 and 40 hours in 1966.

The solution to staff shortages in London had been the encouragement of immigration from the West Indies. It was noted in the *Evening World* on 16 October 1956 that 'labour shortages may soon mean coloured busmen on City routes. The Ministry of Labour have offered help in getting coloured labour but no discussions had started with the Trade Unions. Problems have been cited in the Midlands with employment of

West Indians'. The following day the *Evening World* reported that reaction to coloured busman was that the public were in favour but existing bus crews objected in terms which indicate the mood of the times: 'coloured people would menace our security. They are used to a lower standard of living and they would bring ours down to theirs by forcing us to live on the flat rate'. One may therefore surmise that one of the major perceived threats was that solving the staff shortage would reduce overtime and the average take-home pay. However, immediately, the service cuts caused by the Suez Crisis later that month meant an easing of the profile of the problems of staff shortages. At around this time, it appears that the local TGWU branch in Bristol passed a resolution that coloured workers should not be employed as bus crews; this was against the TGWU national policy but no attempt was made to overrule the bus crews' position. The maintenance section however voted differently and coloured workers were soon taken on in the garages⁹. Elsewhere in the Bristol Omnibus Company operation within a year, coloured staff were taken on as bus crew, e.g. in Bath. A series of articles were published in the Bristol *Evening Post* in October and November 1961 on racial issues in Bristol. Commenting on the Bus Company ban on coloured bus crews, the General Manager cited strong prejudice amongst white workers, the lowering of the 'tone' of the job and that recruiting coloured workers would further reduce white recruitment, i.e. you might gain 15 coloured crews and lose 30 white crews. At this time there were about 1166 drivers and 1168 conductors on the City Joint Services crewing 480 buses over the morning and evening peaks and 250 buses off-peak¹⁰. Presumably as a result of these local press articles, Councillor Langham raised the issue of coloured labour on the buses at the City Council Meeting on 13 February 1962. The matter was referred to the next TJC where it was minuted that 'employment of coloured labour could reduce the number of staff. Coloured labour implies a down-grading of tasks. A local newspaper concluded that Bristol was as well if not better off than cities employing coloured labour. Improved employment levels in the West Indies meant that the better type of coloured labour like those employed on the London Underground were not now available. Thus no change in policy was recommended.'¹¹ Matters came to a head on 1 May 1963 when local West Indian activists publicly exposed the bar against coloured crews. A bus boycott by West Indians, a student protest march and exposure in the local and national media followed. National politicians and senior management of the owners of the Bus Company were involved driving local Company managers and trade unions to negotiate. By mid September 1963, a Sikh college graduate was appointed as a Bristol bus

conductor. It would appear that part of the settlement was a recognised but unofficial 'racial quota' of coloured crews at about 5% of total staff. Madge Dresser has chronicled the background, progress and results of the events of 1963 (*op. cit.*).

Throughout the period the perceived and actual shortcomings of the bus operation featured largely in the local press. As the *Evening World* put it in 1955, 'If you could run buses on indignation, Bristol would have the finest service of all'!¹² One solution to shortage of staff was one-man operation. While there had been agreement in 1960 with the Trade Union, it was only applied on Country services initially. It was not introduced on City services until 1968 and then conductors were replaced route-by-route as buses became available and staff were trained. To illustrate the effect of traffic reduction and one-man-operation by 1970 the Bristol City Depots were operating the services with 480 buses, 736 drivers and 734 conductors, i.e. a 30% reduction of staff since 1961¹³.

Reorganisation of Services

The opening of the Bristol Bus and Coach Station at Whitson Street in September 1958 was the occasion of what has been called the biggest change-over in one day in the history of public transport. Not only were the county services brought together under one roof instead of terminating at the Centre, Old Market or Prince Street but the whole Bristol Joint Services were reorganised involving the cross-linking of many City services. This was seen as a way to reduce congestion in the Centre by avoiding the lay-over of buses on services terminating in the central area. Additional buses were run at peak times and fares were reduced on 2500 fare stages. It was hoped that additional revenue would be generated by the better services to housing estates and on cross-city journeys. A review in October 1958 concluded that there had been some increase in receipts although year on year comparisons were difficult due to the flu epidemic in 1957. There had been 'operational' teething problems but the new services were seen to be of benefit especially to those in the housing estates. However in December 1958, to pay for increased wages, it was proposed to revise the scale for the longer journeys that had gained most from cross-linking (17.7% of fares).

The Company had then to cope with social changes as well as the demographic shifts to the housing estates. In 1965 the General Manager complained that off-peak traffic was dwindling (blaming housewives shopping in cars) and the general shortening of working hours moved the end of the working day closer to the school finish time.¹⁴ Thus this sharpening of the evening peak meant it was not possible to use the same bus for school trips and the evening peak. Congestion in the central area



Waiting for the bus. St Augustine's Parade (top) on Saturday 15 December 1945 at 1.10pm and (bottom) outside GWR Goods Office (Temple Meads) on Saturday 29 December 1945 at 1.08pm.



also became a greater problem in the running of the buses. It is not clear whether the rise in road traffic in the early 1960s undermined the logic of the 1958 reorganisation or that existing congestion had a greater effect by delays at both ends of the service. By the mid 1960s, traffic congestion had become a major problem and there was a further reorganisation of routes in November 1965 aimed at addressing staff shortages and traffic congestion. In August 1965 it was decided to invest in short wave radio control. Starting with a one day experiment for control purposes, in 1968 six pocket phones and one control set were purchased and 18 buses and two vans fitted in connection with attacks on staff. From 1969 all new vehicles were fitted and four cars were fitted for Inspectors. However by 1973 a programme was introduced for splitting cross-City services by terminating them in the Central Area and consolidating services on the radial routes in simple even headway schedules. These changes have been designed to reduce the cumulative impact of delays due to congestion, to simplify control and to minimise waiting time for passengers should a bus fail for any reason.¹⁵

Broadmead

There was a very strong movement from the City Engineer (Mr J. Bennett) and the Chief Constable (Mr N. Frost) to exclude all buses from the new Broadmead Shopping Area. Central Government control of building licences and compulsory purchase meant that completion of the 145 shops in Broadmead took eight years. At the March 1958 meeting, the City Engineer and Chief Constable stated that buses would be restricted to the inner circuit road. The Committee pointed out that this involved a 300 yard (274m) walk and that there was no cover over the pavements. Both officers were concerned at the congestion that could be caused and therefore wished to exclude both cars and buses. The eventual compromise was to allow the 2 and 2A service to run through Broadmead on its way from Old Market to the Centre. As late as 1963, again the City Engineer tried to keep buses out of Broadmead; however, traders were asking for more bus services to serve Broadmead. The intrusion of the car into Broadmead was to continue until the central shopping area was pedestrianised in 1977.

Wages, Fuel and Fares Spiral

The peak level of bus use was 195 million passengers per year in 1950. By 1953 this had decreased to 176 million¹⁶, to 144 million by 1958 and 104 million by 1965 (the decline continued with only 60 million passengers being carried in 1972). In 1952, the effect of the interest and repayments on the original 1937 capital plus purchase of

replacement buses was such that there was an overall loss of nearly £19,000 to be funded by the Corporation. The Corporation considered three options:

- purchase of the BTCC interest;
- purchase of the City Services;
- sale of the Corporation interest in the Bristol Joint Services.

Legal advice was that any option would involve the delay and cost of an Act of Parliament as the Corporation interest was established in the 1937 Act. Effectively the Corporation reluctantly concluded that they were locked into joint funding of losses until 1967. Faced with the annual problem of a wage bill increased by a central arbitration and rising material and fuel costs, the Council representatives would not make a contribution from the rates and were reluctant to accept a reduction in services. The only alternative was therefore to raise fares. The concession of workmen's fares (return journey for the price of a single ticket) was abolished on 14 March 1955. In August 1957 it was noted that since 1954 the mileage operated had increased but the number of passengers carried had decreased. A strike over national wage negotiations from 20 to 29 July 1957 did not help retain passengers.

The effect of a fare increase is illustrated by the increase of 8 October 1950 (1½d minimum fare, +½d on all single fares and +½d on all workmen returns, i.e. single fare plus +½d):

W/e	Receipts	Increase	d/mile	Increase	Passengers	Decrease
14.10	£34115	£3853	22.40	2.73	3695158	166511
21.10	£33977	£4785	22.32	3.34	3690495	83229
28.10	£33477	£4837	21.95	3.26	3645087	56251
04.11	£33622	£3801	22.13	2.64	3654062	169338
11.11	£33285	£4237	22.87	2.91	3633834	105664
18.11	£33095	£4005	21.74	2.74	3608068	145225
25.11	£32440	£3004	21.31	2.14	3555447	238275
02.12	£33144	£3790	21.77	2.74	3625511	162209

Over 20 weeks receipts had increased by an average of £3439 per week but passengers carried had decreased by 198,900 per week. A further review at 35 weeks showed receipts up by £3617 per week (+12.4%) but passengers carried decreased by 174,799 (-4.7%). This represented a shortfall on income expected of £14,000. It was surmised that the passenger loss was greater in the higher fare brackets. However

this effect was repeated with each fare rise in Bristol and elsewhere in the country. With the Bristol 1960 settlement there was an allowance of 5% for loss of traffic in the estimate of additional revenue.

The Passing Scene

In November 1945 it was stated that the frequency of bus stops had been reduced to 5 per mile during the War to save fuel. It was the intention to resist any proposals for reinstatement. The tram stops were considerably closer anyway at 8-10 per mile and there had been some reduction with the introduction of buses. Up to October 1957 all stops had been by request only but then compulsory stops were introduced at some stops with request stops at the balance. A further change at the bus stop was evident from December 1959 when single line destination blinds were introduced on buses removing intermediate route information; from February 1960, route and timetable information was provided at bus stops in glass covered wooden frames. In June 1957 the Bristol Tramways and Carriage Company changed its name to Bristol Omnibus Company (although the Bristol Commercial Vehicle manufacturing operation had been separated out with effect from January 1955). There were a number of attempts to get the City crest removed from the Joint Service vehicles, presumably because that would save money and allow for greater flexibility. The name *Bristol* appeared in cursive script until 1966 with the City crest above.

Railway Services 1945-1965

A number of studies have been published on Bristol railway services including the period under review.^{17 18} The first half of the period under review to 1955 saw little change in the pattern of rail services for passengers or for goods. There were neither money nor materials available in 1945 to do more than maintain services with over-stretched men, machines and infrastructure. During the War, strategic needs had dictated that the railways were the preferred carrier over long distances as they used indigenous coal rather than imported petrol or diesel. Thus the network was used to its capacity and in places required expansion by installation of additional loop lines for holding freight trains and junctions to facilitate diversionary routes. In the Bristol area, the investments of the 1930s using Government support to reduce unemployment sufficed for the additional traffic levels. A platform was opened at Chittening near Avonmouth on the Avonmouth to Stoke Gifford line for workmen traffic in 1941 and became a public station in May 1948. The following data illustrates the level of service and railway passenger usage at May 1951:¹⁹

	Passengers/day	Trains/Weekday
Ashley Hill	300	50
Ashton Gate	200	25
Avonmouth Dock	1980	79
Bedminster	605	107
Bristol Temple Meads	10560	400
Brislington	50	16
Clifton Bridge	90	25
Clifton Down	1750	75
Fishponds	180	44
Horfield	345	54
Lawrence Hill	2050	105
Montpelier	40	71
Parson Street	460	98
Redland	620	71
St Anne's Park	350	50
St Philip's	80	25
Sea Mills	200	65
Shirehampton	575	65
Stapleton Road	1825	140
Staple Hill	235	44

The Western Region of British Railways under K.W.C. Grand sought to recover some of the individuality that had been lost on nationalisation and associated centralisation (in the late 1940s Grand had been a senior manager in the Tilling Group and as such had served as a BTCC representative on the Transport Joint Committee). With an increase in regional autonomy from 1953, once again the Great Western chocolate and cream livery appeared on coaches and more steam engines were painted in green instead of utilitarian black.

Although diesel power had been seen locally before the Second World War, the British Railways 1955 Modernisation Plan signalled a more radical departure.²⁰ Steam hauled passenger trains were replaced by diesel railcars on virtually all of the local passenger services with the introduction of the summer timetable of 1959. Only Bristol to Portishead and Bristol to Bath (Green Park) remained steam hauled, the former being dieselised by 1962 and the latter becoming one of the last local opportunities to ride behind a steam engine until its withdrawal on 7 March 1966. By 1962, British Railways realised that the increased services were not producing improved use or revenue to cover costs. The timetable that came into effect on 5 March 1962 drastically reduced the frequency of the services on all lines. The Bristol to London expresses

had seen early experiments with non-steam traction with the use of two gas-turbine powered locomotives between 1950 and 1959. Diesel shunting engines had appeared in the marshalling yards in Bristol and at Stoke Gifford from 1953 where one man could replace the driver and fireman previously employed.

The reasons for the demise of the steam locomotive were clear: it was labour intensive and it became more and more difficult to find those prepared to do dirty work at unsocial hours in all weathers when the same or better money could be earned on regular hours in factory conditions. The cost of the infrastructure to maintain and fuel the locomotives was becoming a very significant proportion of the expenditure side of the budget. The advent of the Clean Air Acts made the conditions especially unacceptable around the servicing depots at Barrow Road, Bath Road and St Philip's Marsh. Bath Road closed 1959 for conversion to a diesel maintenance depot; St Philip's Marsh closed in June 1964 and the remaining steam engines were transferred to Barrow Road until official closure on 20 November 1965 (it was occasionally used for servicing visiting steam locomotives until March 1966).

The Beeching Closures

Robert Beeching is best known for the closures proposed in his Report 'The Reshaping of British Railways'.²¹ However, nearly as many miles of national railway were closed between 1948 and 1964 as were closed under the Beeching proposals from 1964 (see Appendix 2). In Bristol, the post-war changes in shopping and employment patterns had made Old Market less important and the St Philip's passenger station on Midland Road closed on 21 September 1953. The withdrawal of the passenger services between Bristol and Frome via Brislington and Whitchurch on 2 November 1959 was of little consequence as the bus services paralleled most of the route. However the line was retained for goods traffic, principally coal traffic from Radstock and Midsomer Norton to Portishead Power Station until the torrential rain of July 1968 washed away an embankment at Pensford.

The Beeching Report proposed the closure of most of the local passenger services: Bristol to Bath Green Park via Mangotsfield; Bristol to Portishead; Bristol to Clifton Down to Avonmouth; Filton to Avonmouth; Avonmouth to Severn Beach and Pilning; and local services to Ashley Hill, Horfield and Flax Bourton. By the end of 1965, the Portishead line had closed to passengers although goods services were to continue for another 17 years. After closure to passengers in September 1968, the line was removed beyond Severn Beach. The

Clifton Down line has struggled on, at least partially because it cuts across a number of radial routes. Much of the passenger traffic was associated with the Avonmouth Docks, clearance of housing around Lawrence Hill, the proximity of the Lawrence Weston Estate and finally changes in dock labour arrangements decreasing this considerably in the period under review. A number of trains from the Clifton Down line and from Parson Street provided a service to Keynsham for workers at J S Fry's factory until as late as 1979: the 'dirty tricks' employed by British Railways in 1968 when they tried to close Keynsham and failed are described in chapter 14 of *The Railways of Keynsham*.²²

One less well remembered facet of the Beeching Report was his conclusions on the economics of railway goods traffic. Much of the goods was carried by wagon load and took, on average 11 days between despatch and receipt. Closure of goods facilities attracted much less publicity as there was no public consultation process as required for passenger closures. The domestic coal traffic was concentrated on depots at Wapping Wharf and Filton Junction which could receive 'block' trains instead of the wagon loads at station sidings. This enabled coal sidings at suburban stations and the storage and sorting sidings at Westerleigh to be closed. The advent of North Sea gas was to kill the bulk domestic coal traffic in due course. Goods sidings only remained where there were one or more firms generating sufficient dedicated traffic to make their retention economic. Even then, the railway could and did dissuade traffic by quoting uneconomic rates and charges to firms where provision of service was operationally difficult or obstructed other changes.

Conclusion

In Bristol, the period between 1945 and 1965 saw a gradually accelerating process of decline in public transport usage in favour of the private motor car and the lorry and van. The planning outlook was dominated by improvements to the roads to decrease congestion which generally served only to transfer the congestion to the next bottle neck and were anyway swiftly overtaken by the growth in traffic.

The operation of the bus services was made more difficult by the demographic changes leading to longer routes to serve the new housing estates on the outer ring of the conurbation and the social changes of shorter working hours making the morning and evening peak periods more concentrated. The rising bus operational costs (wages and materials and fuel) had to be funded by either service reductions or fare increases as the local authority would not subsidise the City operations. With each fare rise there was a drop in bus use as the economics and convenience of car use became more attractive. Full employment and the relative

affluence of the City with the car manufacturers producing cheaper and more family oriented cars contributed to the higher growth of car ownership and use in Bristol.

Rail use for commuting has never been widespread in Bristol as the physical geography does not allow for rail routes reflecting travel needs. The main passenger users of the railway have been the longer distance middle- and upper-class commuters along the Weston-Bristol-Bath line. Growth of Nailsea, Backwell and Yatton secured local stations while most of the remainder were axed by an approach that considered rail operation economics in isolation from wider social needs. Carriage of goods by rail declined as it became more attractive to use lorries for the whole factory to customer journey and avoid the delays and damage from transfers to and from road to rail.

Appendix 1: Bristol Joint Services

As running in 1949

1	Brislington-Centre-Westbury
1A/1B	Brislington-Centre-Brentry
1C	Brislington-Centre-Westbury-Sea Mills
2/2A	Stapleton-Old Market-Centre-Sea Mills-Southmead
3	Oldbury Court- Centre-Knowle-Whitchurch
4	Staple Hill-Old Market-Knowle (Inns Court Road)
4A	Staple Hill-Old Market-Knowle (Filwood Broadway)
5/5A	Centre- Filton (Wades Road)-Patchway
6/6A	Old Market-Filton (Church)-Southmead/Patchway
7	Centre-Zetland Road-Downs
8	Kingswood-St George-Old Market-Bedminster
9	Hanham-St George-Old Market-Ashton
10	Centre-Knowle (Melvin Square)
10A	Centre-Hengrove
17	Temple Meads Station-Centre
18	Centre-Suspension Bridge
20	Clyde Road-Centre-Bedminster (St John's Road)
20B	Bushy Park-Bedminster Down (Cheddar Grove)
21	Centre-Ashley Down Road-Lockleaze
22	Downs-Centre-Bedminster Down/Headley Park
28	Centre-North View-Sea Mills-Avonmouth
28A	Westbury-Avonmouth-Chittening
28C	Westbury-Lawrence Weston
36	Old Market-Barton Hill-Brislington (Montrose Park)
36A	Old Market-Barton Hill- Knowle (Red Lion)
82	St George (Kingsway)-Fishponds- Patchway
83	Old Market-Downs-Suspension Bridge
83A	Lawrence Hill (Twinnell Road)-Filton-Patchway
84/284	Hotwells-Centre-Eastville-Fishponds-Downend
89	Cheltenham Road-Suspension Bridge
95B	Westbury-Knole Lane
97	Kingswood-Staple Hill-Downend-Fishponds
97A	Fishponds (Channons Hill)-Glenside Hospital
97B	Fishponds-Helliwell Estate-Staple Hill
99	Prince Street-Hotwells-Portway-Avonmouth
132	Prince Street-Knowle (Inns Court Road)
133	Old Market-Charlton Road-Fishponds (Briar Way)
138	Prince Street-Luckwell Road-Uplands
139	Old Market-Pennywell Road-Stapleton Hospital
139A	Fishponds (Manor Park)-Stapleton (Duchess Gate)
141	Prince Street-St Philip's-St Anne's-Brislington
142	Centre-Zetland Road-Henleaze-Filton-Patchway
142	Filton-Stoke Gifford-Little Stoke
145	Horsefair-Kingsdown-Kellaway Crescent-Henleaze
146	Prince Street-Knowle (Axbridge Road)
232	Prince Street-Knowle (Filwood Broadway)
236	Old Market-Barton Hill-Brislington (Broomhill Road)
238	Prince Street-Luckwell Road-Headley Park
239	Prince Street-Ashton Drive
281	Old Market-Ashley Down Road-Filton-Patchway
	Kingswood (Soundwell Road)-Fishponds-Patchway

As running in 1962

- 1 Stockwood Lane-Centre-Downs-Henbury-Brentry-Cribbs Causeway
- 1A Stockwood Lane-Centre-Downs-Brentry-Henbury-Cribbs Causeway
- 2 Lockleaze-Old Market-Downs-Sea Mills-Lawrence Weston
- 2A Lockleaze-Old Market-Downs-Sea Mills-Shirehampton
- 3 Whitchurch-Temple Meads-Centre-Filton (Church)
- 4 Blackhorse (Westerleigh Road)/Station Road-Staple Hill-Fishponds-Eastville-Old Market-Knowle (Inns Court Avenue)
- 4A Blackhorse (Westerleigh Road)-Staple Hill-Fishponds-Eastville-Old Market-Knowle West (Filwood Broadway)
- 5 Broomhill-Centre-Haymarket-Filton (Blenheim Drive)
- 6 Hartcliffe (Hareclive Road)-Old Market-Filton (Church)
- 6A Hartcliffe (Bishport Avenue)-Old Market-Southmead (Lanercost Road)
- 6B Hartcliffe (Bishport Avenue)-Old Market-Southmead (Arnside Road)
- 8 Warmley-Old Market-Horsefair-Centre-Westbury-Lanercost Road
- 8A Warmley-Old Market-Horsefair-Centre-Westbury-Arnside Road
- 9 Hanham-St George-Old Market-Ashton Gate-Ashton Drive
- 10 Frenchay-Old Market-Centre-Knowle West (Inns Court Green)
- 11 Oldbury Court-Fishponds-Centre-Loxton Square-Hengrove
- 13 Fishponds (Briar Way)-Old Market-Centre-Zetland Road-Downs
- 14 New Cheltenham-Woodland Way-Old Market-Centre-Hotwells
- 17 Temple Meads Station-Centre-Clifton (Zoological Gardens)
- 18 Downend-Old Market-Centre-Clifton (Christ Church)
- 19 Straits Parade-Stapleton-Old Market-Centre-Ashton Vale
- Redland (Clyde Road)-Centre-Bedminster (St John's Road)
- 20B Bushy Park-Bedminster Down (Cheddar Grove)
- 21 Lockleaze-Haymarket-Centre-Knowle (Inns Court Green)
- Hartcliffe (Bishport Avenue)-Centre-The Downs-Sea Mills
- 28 Withywood-Centre-Shirehampton-Avonmouth-Chittening
- 28A Westbury-Lawrence Weston-Avonmouth-Chittening
- 28B Withywood-Centre-Combe Lane-Avonmouth-Chittening
- 36 Patchway-Old Market-Barton Hill-Brislington-Withywood
- 48 Lawrence Weston-Westbury-Patchway
- 60 Warmley-Kingswood-Old Market-Stockwood Lane
- Old Market-Cotham-Clifton-Horfield-Eastville-Easton-Old Market
- 81 Hillhouse Estate-Staple Hill-Fishponds-Filton-Patchway
- 82 Kingswood or St George-Fishponds-Filton-Patchway
- 82A Kingswood or St George-Fishponds-Filton-Filton West
- 83 Old Market-Easton-Eastville-Horfield-Clifton-Cotham-Old Market
- 83A Lawrence Hill (Twinnell Road)-Patchway
- 84 Bromley Heath-Centre-Downs-Cribbs Causeway
- 84A Bromley Heath-Eastville-Centre-Downs-Cribbs Causeway
- 84B Bromley Heath- Centre-The Downs-Lawrence Weston
- 86 Lockleaze-Filton-Patchway
- Broomhill-Centre-Portway-Avonmouth-Chittening
- 97 Kingswood-Staple Hill-Mangotsfield-Downend
- 97A Fishponds (Channons Hill)-Glenside Hospital
- 98 Patchway-Filton-Centre-Melvin Square
- 99 Knowle-Brislington-Barton Hill-Portway-Avonmouth
- 142 Highridge-Headley Park-Centre-Henleaze-Filton
- 145 Shirehampton-Lawrence Weston-Henbury-Westbury-Henleaze-Old Market-Knowle-Stockwood
- 236 Broomhill-Old Market-Filton (Wades Road)
- 282 Kingswood or St George-Fishponds-Filton-Filton West or Patchway

Appendix 2: Bristol Railway Closures from 1945

Passenger Stations	Closed	Goods Facilities	Closed
Ashley Hill	23 Nov 1964	Ashley Hill	1 Nov 1966
Ashton Gate	7 Sep 1965*	Avonmouth Town	20 Jun 1966
Avonmouth Dock	Still open	Avonside Wharf	Dec 1990
Bedminster	Still open	Bedminster	1 Jun 1964
Bristol Temple Meads	Still open	Brislington	7 Oct 1963
Brislington	2 Nov 1959	Canons Marsh	16 Aug 1965
Chittening Platform	23 Nov 1964	Clifton Bridge	5 July 1965
Clifton Bridge	7 Sep 1965	Clifton Down	5 Jul 1965
Clifton Down	Still open	Filton Junction	13 Feb 1984
Fishponds	7 Mar 1966	Fishponds	12 Dec 1965
Henbury	23 Nov 1964	Henbury	5 Jul 1965
Horfield	23 Nov 1964	Lawrence Hill	c 1992
Lawrence Hill	Still open	Montpelier	5 Jul 1965
Montpelier	Still open	Redcliffe Wharf	6 Jan 1964
North Filton Platform	23 Nov 1964	St Philip's (Midland Road)	1 Apr 1967
Parson Street	Still open	St Philip's Marsh	3 Jul 1973
Redland	Still open	Shirehampton	31 Oct 1985
St Anne's Park	5 Jan 1970	Stapleton Road	Jun 1984
St Philip's	21 Sep 1953	Temple Meads	1 Aug 1982
Sea Mills	Still open	Wapping Wharf	1 May 1987
Shirehampton	Still open		
Stapleton Road	Still open		
Staple Hill	7 Mar 1966		
Whitchurch Halt	2 Nov 1959		
* Subsequently used for Football		Other Railway Line Closures	
Excursions and Billy Graham Crusade		Kingswood Jct to Ashley Hill Jct	14 Jun 1965
Rallies in Summer 1984		Bristol to Mangotsfield to Yate	3 Jan 1970

Footnotes

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Higher Education in Bristol 1945-65

MARTIN FORREST

Key developments

At the outbreak of the Second World War, the city boundaries of Bristol embraced a single university and one teacher training college. As might be expected, the period of immediate post-war reconstruction witnessed a remarkable and rapid expansion of higher education provision in the city. This period is particularly noteworthy for the key developments in science and technology which helped to lay the foundations of two new universities. For it was during this period that the foundations of a second university had developed from Bristol's College of Technology, based in the former Muller's Orphanage buildings at Ashley Down. By 1965, a College of Advanced Technology was newly established and plans were already in hand for transferring the new institution to Claverton Down, Bath, to be known as the University of Bath; it was not long before plans were put forward by Bristol City Council to build upon work undertaken at the College at Ashley Down in the development of a polytechnic, later to become Bristol Polytechnic and in due course the University of the West of England. Bristol University which had first received its charter in 1909, was expanded in size and at the same time extended the range of its courses, with the development of new schools and faculties; student services were greatly enhanced to provide more residential accommodation and improved student social facilities.

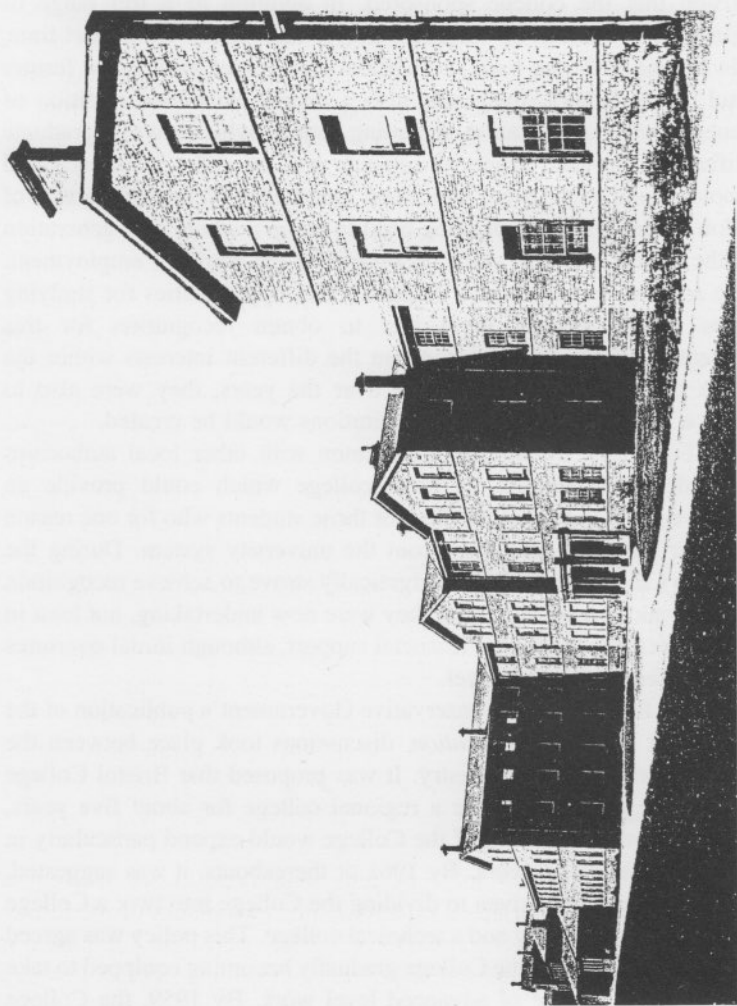
Remarkable too, is the rapid development, qualitatively, as well as in terms of student numbers, of teacher training. In 1947, the Diocesan Training College for female teachers at Fishponds, now approaching its centenary, was joined by an emergency college established as part of a national pattern of teacher training. This college which was based initially in buildings at Clifton and Redland was within the space of several years transformed into a permanent college catering for men as well as women and run by Bristol Local Education Authority. By the later 1960s, the task of training teachers to meet increased national demands was shared by two colleges, St Matthias and Redland, now renamed as Colleges of Education, and the School of Education in Bristol University. In the summer of 1969, the first college of education students graduated with BEd honours degrees of Bristol University.

The first beginnings of two new universities

In the immediate post-war context, it was technical education that was to be most ripe for major expansion. Until this time, technical education in Bristol was entirely provided by the Merchant Venturers' College, with its two very separate locations at Unity Street and Leek Lane. The Society had already mooted the possibility of withdrawal from its educational role before the war. During 1947, a decision was finally made by the Society of Merchant Venturers to terminate the Merchant Venturers' Educational Trust and thus the Society's involvement in Bristol's technical education from the end of 1950. At this time, the Merchant Venturers' premises located in Unity Street, not only housed the City's Technical College, but also the Faculty of Engineering of the University of Bristol. An agreement originally negotiated in 1909 had ensured that the Principalship of the Merchant Venturers' Technical College and the Deanship of the University's Faculty of Engineering were held by the same person.

This decision by the Society of Merchant Venturers was to have momentous consequences for the expansion of further and higher education in the Bristol area. The incumbent Principal of the College and Dean of Engineering, Professor Robertson was due to retire in July 1949. Henceforth, the two posts would become entirely separate. The University of Bristol would be free to make its own appointment and could look forward, in due course, to having its own purpose-built accommodation within the University. The City Council's Education Committee would take over responsibility for technical education in the city from the 1st of January 1951.

When announcing their intended withdrawal, the Society of Merchant Venturers had indicated to the City Council a willingness to discuss the future of the premises at Unity Street. However, it was abundantly clear to all those responsible that there was now a desperate shortage of accommodation for technical education in the city. The City initially arranged to lease the Unity Street premises from the Society of Merchant Venturers, though they would like to have negotiated for their purchase at that time, but at the same time they took steps to acquire further accommodation for their needs on a new site. Two blocks of the former Muller's Orphanage, at Ashley Down, which were due for post-war derequisitioning, were believed to provide suitable accommodation that could be adapted for use. A sub-committee of Bristol's Further Education Committee together with Professor Robertson was charged with exploring the possibilities of using certain buildings on the Ashley Down site. The City Valuer was asked to negotiate to acquire the Ashley Down premises and the City Architect asked to prepare plans for their adaptation. Four out of the five blocks at Ashley Down were thought



Muller's Orphanage, Ashley Down

suitable for technical education whilst a fifth might at some future point serve as a secondary school.

A major difficulty which had beset the Merchant Venturers' College and which continued to predominate in the successor Bristol College of Technology, was catering for the enormously wide range of course provision that the college sponsored. In addition to a full range of training for a variety of technical crafts and trades on a part-time, sandwich and full-time basis, a tradition which went back to the former Bristol Trade School, there was also a deeply-embedded tradition of advanced technical education, including courses which led to a graduate qualification. A wide range of subjects was on offer in science and technology and these were examined externally by the University of London. There was an expanding need to equip a whole new generation with the varied technical skills necessary for the world of employment. At the same time there was a desire to offer opportunities for studying courses at the highest level and to obtain recognition for this achievement. If the tensions between the different interests within the College produced much frustration over the years, they were also to provide a crucible in which new institutions would be created.

The Education Committee in common with other local authorities took pride in sponsoring its local college which could provide an alternative route to the universities for those students who for one reason or another had been excluded from the university system. During the 1950s, the College authorities energetically strove to achieve recognition for the advanced level work that they were now undertaking, not least in regard to securing additional financial support, although initial overtures were rebuffed at regional level.

In 1956, following the Conservative Government's publication of the White Paper *Technical Education*, discussions took place between the Local Authority and the Ministry. It was proposed that Bristol College of Technology continue to be a regional college for about five years, during which time the work of the College would expand particularly in relation to higher level work. By 1961 or thereabouts, it was suggested, consideration could be given to dividing the College into two: a College of Advanced Technology and a technical college. This policy was agreed and duly followed, with the College gradually becoming equipped to take on a higher percentage of advanced level work. By 1959, the College had obtained ministerial recognition of the development of its advanced work and firm proposals for its designation as a College of Advanced Technology were made at government level.

There was a recognition that new premises would have to be provided, as work at Ashley Down began to diverge and by December

1960, the Education Committee began to look for an additional site on which an advanced college of technology might be developed separately from the technical college. The site initially chosen was at Kingsweston. The new college would be centred upon Vanbrugh's eighteenth century building of Kingsweston House in the north west of the city; provision was to be made for playing fields, hostel accommodation and a students' union building to be located in the vicinity. The governing body of the new CAT was set up in March 1962 and it was announced that the Minister would inform the Governors in due course about his decision over the building programme.

Those who worked in two rapidly expanding institutions that shared the same premises were constantly preoccupied with the need for adequate space in which to operate. During the early 1960s, strains and stresses due to inadequate provision of accommodation at Ashley Down reached boiling point. At one stage in 1964 complaints reached the Education Committee via the Trades Council. Members of the Education Committee were particularly upset by the Ministers refusal to allow a building programme at Ashley Down. Adaptation of existing buildings was constrained by lack of government support and a considerable amount of activity was housed in temporary huddled accommodation. An alternative location for the College of Advanced Technology in the Bristol area remained on offer, but by mid-1964, following discussions with the University Grants Commission and the Ministry, the Governors of the new institution had chosen to relocate their college at a green field location in Bath. A Phase I building programme was expected to be completed by 1970, enabling progressive transfer of the College from Ashley Down to take place over a two year period from 1968. For some time, however, there was anxiety on the part of the Education Committee that any delay in the building programme at Bath would have serious repercussions for their own development plans for expanding the Ashley Down site. The Principal of the College of Advanced Technology, George Moore, became the University's first Vice Chancellor.

Once the decision had been taken to place the College of Advanced Technology under a separate governing body and particularly once the planned departure to Bath had been agreed, members of Bristol Education Committee turned their attention to the future development of the college at Ashley Down. After the Labour Government's 1966 White Paper *A plan for polytechnics and other colleges* was published, the City Council expected to receive a formal invitation to establish a polytechnic as part of a regional network of new higher education institutions. Once an official invitation had been received from the Ministry, the Committee recommended that a new centre be established for all advanced technical

and commercial work on a site yet to be determined. This was to include work currently undertaken in the Colleges of Art and Commerce (the latter by now housed in the former Merchant Venturers' building at Unity Street), as well as in the Technical College. All non-advanced courses should eventually be housed at Ashley Down and the new South Bristol College. As early as May 1967, the Committee started to look at two possible locations for the new polytechnic. These were the Kingsweston site, once favoured as a possible location for the College of Advanced Technology, and another site at Walls Court Farm, just across the northern boundary of the City in South Gloucestershire. Initially the Committee showed a preference for Kingsweston, but within two months they had been persuaded that the Walls Court site enjoyed clear advantages. Planning permission was sought for development of the Walls Court site and by 1969, plans for the development of Bristol Polytechnic were well under way. The new institution was granted its own governing body that year and within a short space of time major construction work began. The Polytechnic's courses were officially inaugurated in 1970 and the new college was henceforth to operate as a multi-site institution, with accommodation provided not only at the new Frenchay campus, but at Bower Ashton and Unity Street as well as continued sharing of accommodation at Ashley Down. Dr Robert Bolland, who had originally moved to Bath with the College of Advanced Technology, returned to Bristol as the Polytechnic's first Director.

Bristol University expands

The period under consideration is virtually co-terminous with the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Philip Morris (1946-66). Morris was not himself a university academic but, prior to his appointment, he had been Director of Education for Kent and had served for much of his career in educational administration. Towards the end of the War, he had been appointed Director-General of Army Education. His task had been to prepare a master plan for the large numbers of men and women who would be demobilised at the end of hostilities. Philip Morris was an able administrator as well as a man of considerable vision. During his tenure of office, a number of major developments took place. The university almost trebled in size, new faculties and new departments were created and many new buildings were constructed. During his time as Vice-Chancellor, a number of distinguished scholars were appointed to chairs in the University, thus helping to establish the University's international reputation for excellence.

A School of Architecture was established and a School of Veterinary Science was established in North Somerset at Langford, which enabled

the University to contribute to the dairy farming industry and thus to the agricultural life of the region. In the City itself, during this period of academic expansion, developments also took place in science and engineering. In the 1950s, new buildings were provided for Medicine and Engineering on the slopes of St Michael's Hill. Construction of the latter building became possible after 1949 with the final severing of connections between the University and the Merchant Venturers' College. The plans for a new School of Chemistry, also on St Michael's Hill, along with other developments which involved the use of compulsory purchase orders by the City Council, was however, not without controversy and led to uneasy relationships between some local residents and the University. There were also academic developments on the Arts side. These included the establishment of a pioneering Drama Department. Students were able to study Drama as an academic discipline and at the same time had opportunities to perform in productions, staged in the studio theatre in the Wills Memorial Building.

The baby boom of the 1960s, combined with the fact that students were increasingly seeking to study away from home, necessitated a significant expansion in purpose-built residential accommodation for students. It is clear that Philip Morris, during his time as Chairman of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals in the 1950s galvanised his colleagues into taking concerted action in anticipation of the deluge which would hit them all in the 1960s. The need for expanded student accommodation was one of a number of areas in which action was required. It was through the skilful leadership of Sir Philip Morris that the Government of the day was persuaded to provide the necessary finance. In Bristol, in addition to the adaptation of existing residential accommodation, new halls were built and became known as Hiatt Baker, Churchill and Badock Halls. In the 1960s a brand new student building was opened at Queens Road, Clifton. Similar developments all over the country paralleled those in Bristol.

The vision which Sir Philip Morris exercised during his time as Vice-Chancellor is particularly well illustrated by his concern to raise the standards of Education in the country as a whole, to improve the quality of the teaching in schools and for the University of Bristol to make a substantial contribution to that task. That this should be one of his major aspirations is not surprising, given the Vice-Chancellor's own background. Philip Morris was the son of an HMI who had himself also trained as a teacher. In the 1920s he had joined the teaching staff of Westminster Training College before embarking on an administrative career with Kent Education Authority. He had played an important part in government plans for post-war reconstruction. Between 1942 and 1944

he served on the Board of Education Committee on Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders and later in the 1940s he was a member of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers. Following his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bristol, Philip Morris was in an admirable position to ensure a positive response to the McNair Committee's recommendations on teacher training, published in 1944. The Committee had made important recommendations regarding the quality and structure of teacher training, including a closer association between universities and their neighbouring colleges. In 1947, Bristol University's Institute of Education was created. At a later stage, when the Robbins Committee Report in 1963, recommended closer integration between the universities and the colleges, Philip Morris ensured the establishment of a School of Education, embracing all the teacher training colleges in the area and initiated moves to establish a Bachelor of Education degree with honours, validated by the University and available to suitable candidates in the colleges.

Teacher Training

Proposals in the 1944 Education Act to raise the school-leaving age from 14 to 15, would necessitate the provision of 391,000 additional school places and 70,000 more teachers would be required. The establishment of an Emergency Teacher Training College in Bristol in accordance with Board of Education Circular 1652, was part of a national strategy, involving the provision of more than 40 such institutions, some of which were to become permanent teacher training colleges after the initial crisis was over. In Bristol the emergency college which was established under the aegis of the City's Education Committee, was initially housed in premises in Clifton as well as at Redland. The College used Felixstowe, a capacious mid-nineteenth century mansion on the Promenade in Clifton; this provided teaching and administrative accommodation. A cluster of eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings in the vicinity of Redland Hill supplied residential accommodation and some teaching space. These buildings had originally been built as residences for wealthy Bristol families. Redland Collegiate School had occupied Redland House and Redland Bank during the period immediately prior to the War, when the school moved to Winterbourne. During the war the buildings had been requisitioned for use by the Navy. The former School Hall built in 1934, became the College gymnasium. The emergency Redland Training College under its Principal, Luther Smith, and a small staff, opened its doors for the first time in February 1947 amid snow and ice. The first group of students comprised 273 men,

many of them straight from His Majesty's forces, with experience of battlefields, prison camps and the Burma railway. The students ranged from 22 to 45 years of age and their educational background varied considerably. Some had attended grammar schools and taken School Certificate, others had left school before gaining any paper qualifications; some had left school at fourteen. The course was intensive and structured in ways which would meet the differing needs of the students. All students were well-motivated and were united in their desire to become qualified and to begin teaching in schools. The emergency training course lasted for 13 months with only statutory holidays. At the end of the first course, staff were entitled to a six week break before the next intake arrived.

The syllabuses to be followed were drawn up centrally by HMI and included compulsory English, Mathematics, PE, RE and Health Education. Students were to spend twelve weeks on teaching practice in schools. Students also followed a main subject, although the nature of their programme depended on whether they intended to teach at primary or secondary school level. The college was equipped and furnished with the assistance of the Ministry of Supply. Students were quick to recognise items that were all too familiar from their days in the armed forces! The emergency training schemes were not implemented without controversy. Doubts were raised in a number of quarters regarding the quality of teachers who had undertaken a mere 13 months of training. Although the range of knowledge and experience among students at the Bristol College was varied, some students were extremely well read and a number went on to become headteachers.

By June 1946, some 18 colleges had opened, although the Government, pressed by its critics, expressed disappointment with the slow progress. The emergency college at Bristol, it seems, had its fair share of delays, but at least it was in business by early in the following year. It was officially opened by the Education Minister, George Tomlinson, on 16 April 1947. Whilst the second cohort of trainees, this time a mixed group with women representing more than half the entry, was undergoing emergency training, plans emerged from the Ministry to make the training college permanent. Proposals were invited and the Education Committee submitted proposals to Bristol University Institute of Education that Redland Training College become an associate college. The Principal and his staff would become permanently established and a two year course for men and women students would be introduced, which would in due course replace the emergency training programme. The College became permanent from 1 September 1949, with the first two year intake studying alongside the last of the emergency students.

Early in 1950, the College acquired its own governing body with the University of Bristol represented among its membership: in addition to Professor Fletcher from the Institute of Education, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Philip Morris became a member.

Since its early days, accommodation in the College had varied in quality. Students in residence in Elm Close, Malvern House and Grove Road at least had the benefit of central heating and were said to be warm, if crowded; elsewhere, for example in Redland Bank, conditions were said to be both crowded and cold. A lack of central heating in the winter necessitated the wearing of hats and coats during meal-times. In addition, being housed in old property carried with it the risk of flooding. Once the College became permanent, moves were made to improve and expand the facilities at the Redland site. Proposals for an extension to Malvern House to include a gymnasium/ assembly hall and refectory facilities were eventually agreed and the extension finally opened in 1956 by Sir Charles Morris, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University and brother of Sir Philip Morris. A decade later the College had its own purpose-built teaching block on Redland Hill.

The Diocesan Teacher Training College at Fishponds, unlike its neighbouring college had been in the business of training teachers since the mid-nineteenth century. Following the passage of the 1944 Education Act with its associated need to expand the output of teachers, the College's governing body in common with those of other Church colleges, had received a letter from the Minister, Rab Butler himself, with a request to consider how best the resources of might be used and developed. The Governors' response was cautious with regard to future numbers of students. The Principal, Elsa Nunn together with the Chairman of Governors successfully negotiated the lease of Barrow Court, an attractive Elizabethan Manor House in Barrow Gurney, North Somerset, as a rural extension to the College's premises at Fishponds. When the Principal visited the premises the Red Cross were in the throes of packing up, as the buildings had been requisitioned as a military convalescent home during the War. The College proposed to use the opportunity of a rural outpost to link up with rural schools and to offer courses in rural studies. In September 1946, 49 additional students embarked upon a two year training programme at Barrow. By October 1947 the College had taken its place among the associated colleges of the newly fledged Institute of Education. Professor Fletcher and the Vice-Chancellor joined the Governing Body. To begin with, expansion of the college in terms of numbers was slow but steady. At St Matthias, a decision had to be taken as to whether to continue with two sites or whether to move the whole college to Barrow Court. The latter decision,



The first Principal of Redland College, Luther Smith (left) and Sir Charles Morris, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds (centre), at the opening of the extension to Malvern House in 1956.

had it been taken, would certainly have made future expansion of the college much more difficult.

In the early 1950s, the College at Fishponds was renamed the College of St Matthias, but it was during the time of Miss Nunn's successor as Principal, Margaret Graham, that the College underwent the most rapid period of expansion rapid expansion, from 170 in 1955 to 800 by the end of the 1960s. Redland College expanded to a similar size during the same period. In neither case was this expansion as smooth as it might appear to have been in retrospect and in the case of both colleges the lack of prerequisite additional accommodation was a constant cause for concern. The early 1960s saw the phasing in of a three year certificate course validated by the University of Bristol which offered greater opportunity for students to study their chosen special subject in depth and following publication of the Robbins Report in 1963, there were moves towards establishing an honours degree programme for those intending teachers in the colleges who were considered able to benefit. Robbins had envisaged the expansion of colleges until they accommodated in the region of 750 students. The continued expansion of both Bristol colleges in this direction was inexorable, with the Department of Education and Science urging solutions such as 'box and cox' and more intensive use of the facilities in order to help ease accommodation pressures. This expansion was not achieved without much heart-searching on the part of both sets of college authorities, who were anxious lest they lose the gains in quality already perceived to have been made through the introduction of the three year course.

At the College of St Matthias, it was suggested that there was everything to be gained by taking male students and from 1966, the college became mixed, with consequences also for staffing. Both colleges responded positively to the exhortation that they should accept 'older' students and from the mid-1960s, 'mature' entrants to the teaching profession came to form a very significant group within those aspiring to become teachers, as continues to be the case today. As early as 1959 the possibility was entertained of post-graduate students undertaking their training year at St Matthias; however, this development was not to take place for a further decade or more and it was Redland College that became the first Bristol College acquire a graduate intake during the 1960s.

Proposals for a Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree, originally proposed by Robbins, met with varied responses from the Universities that would be required to validate the new awards. Those who advocated the importance of moving towards an all-graduate teaching profession had a strong supporter in Bristol's Vice-Chancellor, Philip Morris. Bristol, unlike some universities, was prepared to offer a classified

honours degree to those students who reached the appropriate level in their four year college-based studies. The first graduates emerged in summer 1969 with what were, in effect, joint honours degrees in Education and another subject specialism. Discussions regarding the BEd degree had begun soon after publication of the Robbins Report. If the Vice-Chancellor himself was committed to enhancing the quality of the teaching profession through the establishment of the BEd, the same could not be said of all his colleagues. Indeed there was much scepticism and outright opposition in some quarters to the new degree. There was an element of traditional antipathy, long established among many academics towards the concept of Education as an academic discipline, but there were also fears of the University being drawn into a large-scale public education programme. The reality turned out to be very different.

Regulations devised for the operation of the BEd degree ensured that entry into the fourth year was tightly controlled, with minimum entry grades being stipulated. Students during the final year of their three year certificate course would be required to be examined in 'additional studies' (in Education as well as in their specialist subject). The University through a series of specialist panels of university and college staff exercised firm control over syllabus content and examining arrangements. The University through its own specialist departments also exercised control over the quality of teaching staff in the colleges, with key staff becoming 'recognised' teachers for the BEd degree; many staff were encouraged to enhance their own subject knowledge by undertaking research and in some cases even by attending undergraduate classes at the University. College libraries were generously funded to equip BEd students with texts needed for honours degree level work. Although college of education students frequently signed up for the additional studies in their third year, with a view to taking the honours year, many fell by the wayside and left as certificated teachers, after three years. Others were discouraged by the prospect of further study and declined the opportunity. The result was that the number of students progressing from the three year course to BEd honours was slow to increase and in fact, at no point represented more than a minority of students from a given cohort. The opportunity to gain a graduate qualification was later extended to serving teachers, who might gain a BEd degree with honours as an in-service qualification. Once again the number of teachers coming forward with a view to enhancing their qualifications was never large. These early attempts at enfranchisement of the teachers as part of an all-graduate profession were to continue for the best part of a decade and the uneasy relationship between some sections of the University and the colleges remained. As such the scheme was only partially successful.

Many students and teachers benefited from the scheme as it had been formulated, but it never seemed likely to provide the most appropriate vehicle for establishing an all-graduate teaching profession. Increasingly it became clear that new structures in higher education would be needed to provide a framework that was better suited to the professional needs of intending teachers. And it was the eventual merger of the two colleges with the newly fledged Bristol Polytechnic, agreed by Avon County Council in 1975, that paved the way for an all-graduate teacher education programme validated by the Council for National Academic Awards.

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